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FAMILY AND MIGRATION: A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

A Dissertation Presented

By

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ABSTRACT

Family and Migration: A Systems Analysis

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This study described how individual families were affected when they migrated from Puerto Rico to the United States for economic reasons.

It focused on the relationships among family, work, community and migration. The study examined the effects of the interactions among families and several systems (i.e., family-work, family-neighborhood, family-welfare, media-North America population in Springfield, family-context of diminishing economic opportunities) on the structural characteristics of family hierarchy and the family life developmental cycle.

Data was obtained through participant observation, structural interviews, network analysis, economic information, key informers, census information, and behavioral setting mapping.

It was discovered that the interaction among family and some systems raised the mothers' and younger brothers' positions in the family hierarchy. In addition, family members began working at a later age than their parents. In the society of adoption there was

a shift in the timing and the way new members were introduced to work. The effects of these changes on the family's emotional life are also discussed.

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C H A P T E R I

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

This study describes how individual families are affected when they migrate from Puerto Rico to the United States for economic reasons. All families interact with systems related to work, neighborhood, social agencies, social conventions, and society's values. Since the characteristics of these systems vary from country to country, migration often requires that the family develop new behaviors. The study describes how the migrant family interacts with these systems in the new country. The emotional implications of these interactions are also discussed. Data will demonstrate how family life is affected by economically induced migration. A focus on the structural characteristics of the family and the family developmental cycle provides a way to organize these data. The study aims to understand: a) the nature of the interactions between a family structural characteristic (hierarchy) and each one of the systems operating in the new country and b) the nature of the interactions between the family developmental cycle and the different systems operating in the new country.

Need for the Study

By examining the relations among family, work, and neighborhood in a Puerto Rican community, this study provides a better conceptualization of mental health issues. Improved mental health services for the Puerto

Rican population (and possibly for other minority groups) may result. The information collected in this study concerns: (a) continuities and discontinuities in the structural characteristics of the Puerto Rican family in the United States; (b) continuities and discontinuities in the family life developmental cycle; (c) the social and psychological stresses that are related to migratory movements; and (d) the family's coping mechanisms and the quality of negotiations with larger systems.

Theoretical Background

This section defines the basic concepts utilized in the study. The remainder of the chapter discusses system theory and the terms it uses to describe the family. Chapter II reviews the literature on the interactions between the migrant family and three important systems (i.e., work, neighborhood, migration) that operate in the country of adoption.

In order to understand the terms used in the study, it is necessary to know what a system is:

> The term system is used to signify a complex of elements and their interrelations, or in a global sense, everything that can be regarded as a separate whole. The interactions of the elements within a system gives rise to phenomena which cannot be described in terms of the classical sciences, but only be means of concepts such as wholeness, organization, directedness, control and regulation. Systems possess an environment that is the sum total of all objects, changes in whose properties influence the system, and of those objects whose properties are in turn influenced by the behavior of the system. And also subsystems, which are perceived when the system is subdivided in accordance with the criteria of specific kinds of object relations.

> Such distinctions as are among elements (i.e., objects) and relations will depend on the analytical powers of the observer, and the way in which they divided up into environment systems and subsystems will depend on his point of view and aims (Von Cranach, 1972, p. 372).

Classification of social systems

Bronfenbrenner (1981) integrates systems thinking and developmental theory into a set of cohesive concepts useful for understanding the patterns of relationships among work, family, and neighborhood. He speaks of the necessity for creating an "ecology of human development." This ecology of human development is:

> ...the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings and by larger contexts in which the settings are embedded (p. 21).

Bronfenbrenner describes the ecological environment as a nested arrangement of concentric structures so that lower level structures are subsumed by those at a higher level. These structures are microsystems, exosystems, mesosystems, and macrosystems.

> A microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics...A mesosystem comprises the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates (such as for a child, the relations among home, school, and neighborhood peer group; for an adult, among family, work, and social life)...An exosystem refers to one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect or are affected by what happens in the setting containing the developing person...The macrosystem refers to consistencies, in the form and content of low-order systems

> (micro-, meso-, and exo-) that exist or could exist, at the level of the subculture or culture as a whole, along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies (Bronfenbrenner, 1981, p. 26).

This classification of social systems provides a useful conceptual framework for studying the family's interactions with other systems. For example, the interaction between the family and community can be understood as patterns of relationships among several mesosystems (i.e., family, church, peers, neighborhood) and exosystems (i.e., judicial courts, police department). Similarly, this classification scheme provides the framework for studying the effects of all of these systems on the family microsystem.

Family system

The family is a sociocultural system present in all groups. Families have many different functions. One of the most important functions is for the older generation (i.e., parents or extended family) to introduce the younger generation into adulthood and society. This goal is accomplished through a series of developmental tasks associated with the family cycle (i.e., infancy, adolescence, marriage, parenthood, etc...). Other important family functions are the protection, nurturance, and regulation of members (Minuchin, 1974).

The family does not operate in isolation to fulfill these functions. An important characteristic of families is that they are open systems.

> Open systems, unlike closed systems, stand in reciprocal relationship with their environment. The principle of equifinality, which holds true in the case of open systems

> means that such systems can arrive at the same final state, albeit in different ways, and from different initial conditions. Open systems are not subject to the principle of entropy, but exhibit the phenomena of evolution and differentiation (Von Cranach, 1972, p. 372).

The family is an open system because family members interact with each other and with other systems (minuchin, 1974; Andolfi, 1980). This interaction with other systems means that family structure changes in response to society at large in addition to different developmental demands. Social systems influence the family's form and composition. The family's relationship with social systems can be a source of conflict. One example of this conflict is seen in modern Western society where the family is no longer an economically advantageous system. Thus, modern capitalist society tends to view the individual as a rational being trying to achieve the most profitable market position. Solidarity, an essential element in family life, is often perceived as irrational. Aspects of Sociology (1972) comments:

> In its very concept the family cannot strip off its natural element, the biological interrelationship of its members. But from the viewpoint of society this element appears as heteronomous, to a certain degree an irritant, because it cannot be wholly resolved within the relationship of exchange, although today even sex is assimilated into the relationship of exchange, into the rational "give and take." Meanwhile, the natural element can assert itself less than ever before independently of the socially institutional element. Thus at times in the latter-day borgeois society the family suffers a fate that is not really so different from that of the corpse, which in the midst of civilization recalls to mind the conditions of nature, and which is either hygienically cremated or even cosmetically prepared as described in Evelyn Waugh's, The loved one (p. 131).

Modern Western man is thus caught in a dilemma regarding the family. On one hand, the family is an important source of protection, nurturance, and identity formation; on the other hand, the individual who strives for success in the market will need to concentrate his resources on his enterprises and not on his family. Resulting symptomatology has been described in the literature (Ellis, 1952; Petras, 1968; Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958).

Family structure

Family structure can be observed in the behavioral transactions among members. Although each transaction is related to a specific context, these transactions exemplify family rules. Minuchin (1974) says:

> The family structure is the invisible set of rules that govern transactions among family members; i.e., a rule like, "protection of family members is an essential function" may be manifested in different contexts and among different members: father provides handkerchief if daughter cries; mother helps adolescent son with his homework; son intervenes to defuse conflict between parents; daughter becomes the memory of the family (p. 1).

For example, women in one family participated only marginally when family history data were solicited by an observer in the present study. These behaviors defined a family rule, isomorphic to the family organization, regarding a differential participation of men and women in the family.

Two important mechanisms are involved in structural responses to the demands in the family and the context. These mechanisms are homeostasis, which maintains constancy, and morphogenesis, which allows system change so that new demands can be met. The concept of family homeostasis

originated from observations that another family member often began to show symptomatology after the identified patient became symptom-free. Hoffman (1978) comments:

> It was almost as if the family required the presence of a person with a symptom...noting the obstinancy with which change was resisted even when it meant the improvement of a loved one, Jackson coined the term family homeostasis and described family interactions as a "closed information system in which variations in output or behavior are feedback in order to correct the system response (p. 287).

The family must also have a capacity for change (Satir, 1971), morphogenesis, in order to be able to cope with individual members' demands, as well as family demands, which are related to life cycle developmental changes and pressures from the social environment.

Structural characteristics of the family system

Several important terms have been developed to describe the characteristics of family systems. These are organization, hierarchy, boundaries, complementarity, and the family life cycle.

Organization. Minuchin (1974) stresses the importance of understanding the family as several subsystems that function as a whole with the whole being greater than the sum of the parts. Family subsystems refer to groups of individuals who share the same functions and roles in the family. They share these functions and roles because they are of the same sex, of similar ages, or have similar interests. The first subsystem is the marital subsystem. The marital subsystem is formed by the union of two unattached young adults. When the first child

arrives, a new subsystem (i.e., the parental subsystem) emerges. When other children are born, a sibling subsystem develops. As more children come into the family, further subsystems are formed around commonalities in age, sex and interest. For example, the children aged 10, 11, and 12 form a subsystem of pre-adolescents. If the family is an extended one (i.e., grandparents, aunts and uncles also live in the household), further adult subsystems are formed. Since subsystems are essential in family organization, the boundaries between these subsystems are also imporatant.

Boundaries. Interactional rules determine who belongs to a system or a subsystem. Consequently, these rules create boundaries among systems and subsystems. The parental subsystem needs boundaries that permit parents to function as the executives in the family system. If a child is making executive decisions, perhaps the parental subsystem has diffuse boundaries and the child is involved in an inapproprite role. There also should be clear boundaries between the parental subsystem and the sibling subsystem. These boundaries allow siblings to explore and experiment with peer relationships without parental interference. However, boundaries should not be so rigid that parents and their children are prevented from sharing interests, concerns, support, and affection. The marital subsystem should also have clear boundaries so that, for example, children do not intrude into the support and sexual satisfaction within the couple relationship. Furthermore, clear boundaries between the family and the outside world are necessary for the family unit to function effectively.

Hierarchy. Another structural characteristic of the family system is hierarchy. The parents (in the nuclear family) or the adults (in the extended family) are the ones in charge of the family's rules. The parents are the executive system in the family. The family hierarchy is an important system of constraint in the family (Minuchin, 1974).

Complementarity. One important structural characteristic of the family is complementarity. Since all roles are the result of interactions, the characteristics of one person's role are going to be determined by another person's role and their interactions. Minuchin (1974) defines complementarity:

> People accommodate kaleidoscopically to attain the mutuality that makes human intercourse possible. The child has to act like a son as his father acts like a father; and when the child does so, he may have to cede the kind of power that he enjoys when interacting with his younger brother. The subsystem organization of a family provides valuable training in the process of maintaining the differentiated "I am" while exercising interpersonal skills at different levels (p. 53).

The family life cycle. In addition, an important characteristic of the family is that it involves through time around natural transition points in the family life cycle. The family life cycle is a series of predictable developmental stages in which emotional development occurs in complementary relationships among family members (Carter and McGoldrick, 1980). The family life cycle presented by Carter and McGoldrick (1980) has several advantages. The first one is that it is economical because it concentrates in six stages. The model is able to do so because it involves moments in family life cycles

where there are entrances or losses of members. To each one of these six stages there is a corresponding key emotional process of transition and several second-order changes in family status are required to proceed developmentally. The key emotional process of transition should be understood as the attitudes which enable family members to make the required changes needed to proceed developmentally to the following stage. For example, in the family life cycle, "the family with adolescents," the key emotional process of transition for the middle class American family is "accepting parent - offspring separation." The second-order changes in family status required to proceed developmentally are the ones by which the basic organization of the family system is altered.

Basically, the notion of second-order change refers to discontinuous changes in the system by which it is transformed into a different organization. For example, in the family life cycle stage, "the unattached young adult," Carter and McGoldrick identified three second-order changes required to proceed developmentally. These three second-order changes are: (a) differentiation of self in relation to family of origin; (b) development of intimate peer relationships; and (c) establishment of self in work.

Under this theoretical framework, when a family achieves these second-order changes, the family is a different organization than the one before.

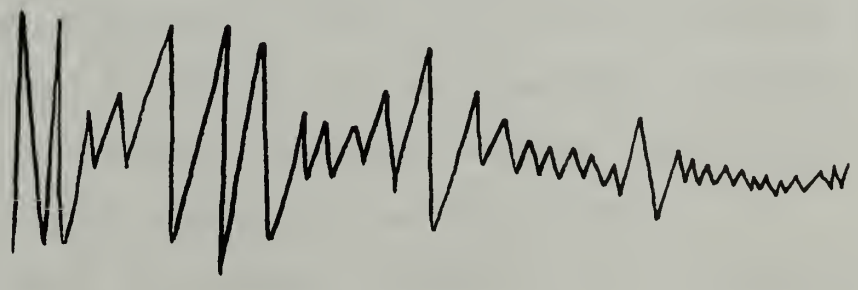
The second advantage of the model is that it focuses on complementarity. By complementarity, it is understood that the changes the family is experiencing requires calibration, adaptations, and reciprocal

arrangements that include all family members. The third advantage is that the model provides for specific criteria of observation in the study of the similarities and differences between migrant families and the families they encounter in the society of adoption. These criteria are: a) the key emotional process of transision and b) the second-order changes required to proceed developmentally.

An important criticism to the model is presented by Douglas Breulin (1983). Breulin criticizes the Carter and McGoldrick type of life cycle model:

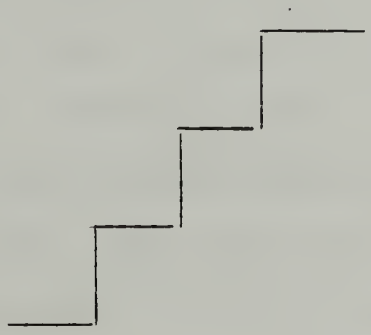
> I think what it does, this kind of life cycle model, broken into states, is that it focuses almost entirely on major junctures of coming and going, i.e., birth, leaving home, marriage, adolescence. But to me, the process of validating the child's development is a much more continuous process.

Breulin challenges the idea that families develop through big discontinuous jumps or second-order changes. For him, families change through a slow process in which progressively the normal family elicits more age and developmentally appropriate behavior. This process will be graphically better described by a graph like Drawing 1.



Drawing 1.

The big vertical lines represent behavior that is not age and developmentally appropriate. The smaller lines represent behavior that is age and developmentally appropriate. A family is in a new developmental stage when the majority of the complementary behaviors correspond to the new family developmental cycle. Carter and McGoldrick's (1980) model can be represented graphically be a step drawing (See Drawing 2), where to get from one developmental stage to another, a discontinuous jump is necessary in the family behavioral patterns.



Drawing 2.

One of the major criticisms of Breulin (1983) to the step model is that experience shows families do not progress by the family life cycle in jumps, but in recurrent progressive and regressive behaviors. A young man entering adolescence will exhibit for a while a fluctuation among "less than equal," "equal to," and "more than equal" to age-like behaviors. This process is continuous until the "more than equal" to age behaviors is established ad the norm (Breulin, 1982).

In this work, the conceptual framework of Carter and McGoldrick (1980) is utilized because it is economical.

Because of limitations of both time and resources, this study concentrates on the family process that occurs in one of the six stages desdribed by Carter and McGoldrick. This is the family with adolescents. This stage was chosen because during it the family has to cope and interact more with larger systems like the work system, the neighborhood and the social agencies.

Nuclear, extended, and extended family cohesion types of families

Family organization emerges as the family unit interacts with other social systems. In modern Western societies, three principle types of family organization are found. These are nuclear, extended, and extended family cohesion. The nuclear family is the product of industrial societies and of urban areas associated with industrialization (Parsons, 1955; Aries, 1965). The nuclear family is a "small private family of ather, mother and their children, without other relatives living in the house and without close obligations and ties to relatives who live nearby" (Sennett, 1970, p. 62). In contrast, the extended family is a family organization that includes relatives besides the nuclear group (i.e., uncles, grandparents, cousins) living in the same household with the nuclear family. Many families studied by Sennett were not appropriately described by the terms "extended" or "nuclear". Consequently, he created the term "extended family cohesion" (Sennett, 1970) to suggest that the nuclear family can also take on some characteristics of an extended family. He described this family type by stating that:

> ...there is beneficial mutual assistance and support between groups of related nuclear families who live nonetheless, residentially apart from each other, and this cohesion is, for the families themselves, and end in itself (p. 232).

Summary

This study will describe how individual families are affected when they migrate from Puerto Rico to the United States. The emphasis is on the relations among family, work, community and migration. Family characteristics and the family developmental cycle will be used as frameworks to describe the experience of migrant families. These terms and other important systemic concepts have been defined in this chapter. Chapter II contains a review of the literature concerning the interaction between the migrant family and three important systems (work, neighborhood, migration).

CHAPTER II

THE MIGRANT FAMILY AND LARGER SOCIAL SYSTEMS

When a family migrates, it interacts with several larger systems in the new country. Migrants have to deal with a different system of work and a new community. These two mesosystems are interrelated in everyday life. For the purpose of analysis, however, they will be discussed separately.

Family and Work

The work system is an important mesosystem that affects the well-being and mental health of the Puerto Rican family. The importance of the interaction between the family and work system has been documented both in psychological and sociological literature (Bronfenbrenner and Cochran, 1976; Cochran and Bronfenbrenner, 1978). Bronfenbrenner (1979) discusses specifically the relationship between work and developmental processes:

> ...the world of work emerged as a key setting of the mesosystem in adulthood. Job conditions were perceived as potent forces affecting the respondent's ability to function as a parent, and presumably such influence affects the child. Yet, in American society, at least, the parent's workplace is not one that the children often enter, or for very long periods of time. Its status in an ecological schema oriented around the child is, therefore, that of an exosystem domain. As we shall see, it is peripheral only in its position, not in its power to determine possibilities and processes in the child's development (p. 236).

The relationship between work and the family system has been studied longitudinally for the Depression era (Elder, 1974). This is a longi-

tudinal study involving eleven children in Oakland, California. In this study, the period of intense observation covers from pre-adolescents to midlife. He compared the life course development of those exposed to the hardships of Depression with those that were relatively untouched.

This research is relevant to the present study, since the levels of structural unemployment among Puerto Ricans in both the United States and Puerto Rico are similar to general unemployment levels during the Depression. One of the effects of severe economic loss during the Depression was the development of psychological symptoms. These problems were especially pronounced in parents of working class extraction and were also evident in their children. Traditional family hierarchy was also affected in these families as the mother became more dominant (Bronfenbrenner, 1979):

> This phenomenon was often accompanied by a lowered status of the father in the eyes of his children; whereas, the mother's perceived importance increased. In Elder's view, these shifts in intra-family dynamics are a consequence of the perceived "role failure on the part of the husband" and the resultant shift of economic responsibility to the mother and other family members (p. 269).

It seems that the fathers blamed themselves for a situation in which they were not at fault. The child subsystem was also affected by the change in the work situation. The children not only began to show preferences for mothers over fathers, but also expressed a stronger identification with peer groups. One of the most significant characteristics of these children was their participation in the work

phere (i.e., domestic roles at home for girls, outside jobs for boys) (Elder, 1974):

> By the time they were teen-agers, about 90 percent of the daughters from deprived families were doing domestic chores, compared with 56 percent for the nondeprived. Among the boys, 65 percent of those deprived, as against 42 percent among the nondeprived, were doing some kind of paid work. For sons in families in which the father was unemployed, the boy's part-time employment rose to 72 percent. The job percentages for the girls showed similar trends, but with lower participation rates (p. 270).

This early association with the work sphere affected these children's value systems. These children became more aware of how parental contributions made consumption possible. In addition, these deprived children were ambitious and had high social aspirations during high school. Trained clinicians rated them highest on the desire to control their environment by suggestion, persuasion, or command (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 271). These results seem to suggest that today's high unemployment among Puerto Rican adolescents may have important effects (i.e., gang activity, depression, inability to proceed with further developmental tasks).

Although Elder's results show the clear relationship between family and work, researchers, as noted by Golden (1975) and Piotrkowski (1979), have traditionally ignored this interaction. Similarly, the literature on the social epidemiology of mental disorders remains at the individual level and has not included the family system (Kaufman, 1940; Clark, 1949; Clausen and Kohn, 1954; Frumkin, 1955; Levy and Freedman, 1956; Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958; Hung, 1959; Kornhauser, 1963, 1965; Parker and Klein, 1966;

Brenner, 1973). In a review of the literature on the relationship between occupational status and structural family variables, Piotrkowski (1979) finds very few studies that integrate family and work systems. However, she provides evidence that contradicts the myth of separate worlds of work and family. She notes that this myth:

> ...encourages people to blame themselves and each other when their needs go unmet, rather than recognize the role that their work lives may play in hindering fulfillment of personal and familial goals. The myth is supported by families themselves who may want to believe in their own autonomy (p. 275).

Family and Neighborhood

When a family migrates, it also makes a transition from one neighborhood to another. Families, friends, peers, informal associations, formal associations, and other systems may all be part of the mesosystem neighborhood. Since the spheres of work and community tend to be separate in capitalist societies, work is generally not part of the mesosystem neighborhood in the United States.

Family and Social Systems Associated with Migration

Economically induced migration requires the migrant family to interact with new social systems and situations. New systems and situations often require individuals and families to add additional coping strategies to their repertoire. The massive research on mental illness and migration elucidates the multiple stresses associated with migration. This body of research describes the correlations

among mental disorders and the social dynamics associated with migration. The process of migration challenges the family's capacity to restructure itself (Sluzki, 1979). Migrants must resolve conflicts between new ways and old ways. Usually the migrant loses extended family and primary group connections. Frequently migration causes conflicts between the parental and child subsystems. The process of migration also affects the way the family copes with issues of the family developmental cycle. Furthermore, families, especially from the Third World, often face a hostile society in the United States and frequently are relegated to a minority status. Finally, migrants must try to either adapt or acculturate to the new society.

Sluzki (1979) developed a model for understanding migration. He divided the process of migration into five discrete steps: I) preparatory stage; II) act of migration; III) period of overcompensation; IV) period of decompensation; and V) transgenerational phenomena. For each step he identified characteristic comflicts, symptoms and family coping mechanisms. Sluzki (1979) described how families tend to perform these steps. For example, during the transition from preparatory to migratory stage, the family passes through periods of overload, euphoria and poor performance. The people who initiated the idea of moving are at special risk of being scapegoated if something goes wrong. At this time, new family rules may emerge. The second step, the act of migration, is the actual move to another community, a transition for which few societies provide useful rituals. The third stage is a period of overcompensation:

> ...the first priority of the family is sheer survival, that is, the satisfaction of its basic needs. Given those priorities, the process of cancellation of dissonance, or the denial of its subjective impact, is maximal precisely at the period in which the bombardment by dissonant experiences is also maximal (Sluzki, 1979, p. 384).

It is in the fourth step, decompensation, that conflicts and symptoms are most likely to emerge. The family's traditional coping techniques are tested in the new situation. Some techniques are useful and others are not. Families that can negotiate openly the "rules about changes of rules" are more likely to resolve these conflicts. The fifth state, transgenerational phenomena, occurs when the second generation, acculturated in the new country, introduces an intergenerational conflict around issues in the new society that have been avoided by the first generation.

This model provides a systemic paradigm for better understanding the migrant family (Sluzki, 1979). Family migration should not be considered as an undifferentiated process, but rather must be understood in terms of different stages.

Another important aspect to consider in the process of migration is the continuities and discontinuities of customs and habits. Migration implies a struggle between new ways and old ways. When a family migrates, the individuals of that family must learn to be members of an already constituted society. They must learn a language, a system of customs and rules concerning the use of objects. Without this knowledge, a person cannot be an effective member of society. Migrants have learned these skills in their own native societies. When

they perform these skills they reproduce their societies of origin. Such reproduction is discontinuous and sometimes conflictual with the society of adoption. The form of these skills varies from culture to culture. For example, there are great variations in the way people walk on the street. In a given Anglo community people generally walk on the right side of the sidewalk. In a nearby Puerto Rican community, however, the pattern of walking is quite different. People walk either on the right or left and even cross from the left side to the right side, depending on the conversation. Obviously the way of using the sidewalk is different.

Sluzki (1979) comments on the need for learning the rules associated with the new environment:

> Ethnicity can be defined in terms of the orientation it provides to individuals by delineating norms, values, interactional modalities, ritual meanings, and collective goals. That orientation, that weltanschauung, does not operate in a vacuum, but is dialectically supported by regularities of the environment that generate the experience of consonance...Each unpredicted variation on any of those features shatters that person's premises about reality and calls for a complex calibration of either the perceptions ("are my senses reliable?") or the prediction ("are my values, or my common sense, reliable?"). These calibrating adaptive mechanisms are mobilized by the dissonance resulting from any mismatch between expectations and environment (p. 383).

Serious dissonances and mismatches between new and old ways and between expectations and the actual environment can exist in relation to customs, values, politics, and ideology (cf. Gutman, 1977). Cultural patterns are not easily altered. New migrants tend to rely on them as a source of support and to give continuity to their lives. The idea of abandoning their customs and their definitions of self and

society can be understood as a request for personal and social disintegration. However, if the new migrants do not acquire minimum capacity in handling the new systems governing use of objects and language, they will not be able to function in society. In this way the migrant is in a dilemma.

Loss of support systems

The migrant family leaves in the country of origin the support system provided by extended families, friends, and perhaps, as in the case of Puerto Rico, ritual kinship. After more people from the same migrant group arrive at the place of adoption, there is a tendency to reproduce the same patterns of relationships among family kin and friends. It generally takes five years to establish this social network in the ethnic neighborhood (Falicov and Karrer, 1980). Ethnic networks can facilitate the transition and adjustment to the new environment (Kelner, 1970; Mitchel, 1970; Anderson et al., 1978). The usefulness of indigenous networks must be evaluated in interactional terms. The resistance of the new society to the migrant is an important factor. When such resistance is expressed against the migrants, indigenous social networks become very important. The beneficial characteristics of networks have often been discussed. These systems also have a negative feature, however. Although supportive in the short run, they can be sources of stress. The extended family, for example, may interfere with acculturation, since the search for new friends and institutions may be reduced by dependence on family and friends (Falicov and Karrer, 1980).

Conflicts between parental and adolescent subsystems

Migration almost inevitably fosters conflicts between the parental and adolescent subsystems. This is evident when the host society is xenophobic and when the parental subsystem tries to conform passively to the standards of the majority culture (Eisenstadt, 1954; Louden, 1977; Sluzki, 1979). Long-term delays in the family's adaptation can be expressed as an intergenerational conflict (Sluzki, 1979).

> This clash is maximally apparent in families belonging to cultural groups that have been ghettoized by choice or by force in their country of adoption. A neighborhood that mimics the country of origin constitutes an environment that buffers the cross-cultural exposures and slows any adaptive change. If the second generation becomes socialized in that same secluded environment, the process will repeat itself with no apparent consequences. However, if the process of socialization takes place in a milieu that reflects the norms and values of the new country, what has been delayed by the first generation will take the form of an intergenerational conflict of values (p. 387).

Migration and family life cycle

Migration affects the way families cope with transitions and demands of the family life cycle. Both parents and children have to deal with different childrearing practices and different styles. Two important sources of stress are: a) differences in level of acculturation by family members and b) the pressures and demands of universal life events and the pressures of relocation and acculturation. Several examples clarify how these stresses affect the family at different points during the family life cycle. Stress may appear during courtship when Mexican-American parents may want to follow

tradition by closely supervising their daughter's choice of husband. The daughter, influenced by school and other peer institutions, may find herself at odds with her parents. Falicov and Karrer (1980) observed that the refusal of some acculturated young adults to perform the traditional marital ceremony (casimiento) could deprive the more traditional family members of a useful ritual that helps them cope with the separation of the young adult from the family. Special stress is created in the migrant family when the children reach adolescence. In addition to dealing with normal tensions associated with adolescents, "the parents are frightened by the inner-city dangers unknown in their home town. And secondly, the adolescents have incorporated new values that enter into conflict with their parent's beliefs in the family cohesiveness and respect for everlasting parental authority" (Falicov and Karrer, 1980, p. 408).

Interface with a hostile society

Two patterns that emerge when a migrant arrives in a host society have been described (Eisenstadt, 1954; Louden, 1977). The migrant family can accept the culture of the adoptive country in a conformist way or it can maintain its traditional patterns. Either alternative puts the migrant family in a dilemma. With the first alternative, the family, although trying to be like the majority group, usually is not accepted.

> Then despite a formal emphasis in the general value system on equality and universalism, various discriminatory practices are employed against migrants. These barriers seem permanently to stand in the way of

> the immigrants realizing their legitimate aspirations. Eisenstadt suggests that this situation is most conducive to disorganization and rebellion among second generation immigrants (Louden, 1977, p. 44).

The second alternative of maintaining traditional cultural patterns inevitably produces a negative reaction from the people in the adopted country. Thus, if the migrant tries to conform, he is not accepted; if he tries to be himself, he is not accepted.

Migration and the adoption of a minority group status

Brody (1968) states that four consequences of a minority status are: powerlessness, being stereotyped, marginality, and the creation of a culture of passivity. Powerlessness is created both by identification with the minority group and by poverty. When society uses stereotypes to understand minority members, their humanity is negated. Stereotypes usually are simplistic polarities with the majority representing all virtues and minorities representing all social sins. In an individualistic society where people are taught to ignore the systemic components of behavior, these characteristics (good-evil) are easily understood as consequences of individuals' efforts. If the minority person accepts these stereotypes, he will attribute these negative characteristics to the failure of his group. The process may culminate with self-hate and the desire to be like the oppressor group. This process creates a person who does not want to belong to his own ethnic group but cannot belong to the dominant ethnic group either.

> The marginal man is one who, with one foot in his own minority social world and the other in that of the majority, is not completed accepted and does not feel completely comfortable in either. His "uncertainty of belongingness" has been considered by Kurt Lewin as productive of self-hatred and high sensitivity to anything in his group of origin that does not conform to dominant group values. One reflection of this is the adoption of deprecatory stereotypes about his own group or origin. This is a factor in the dislike of dark skin color and some aspects of lower-class Negro life present in upwardly Negro college students (Brody, 1968, p. 231).

The minority status, when paired with low socioeconomic status, repression, and a lack of strong national identity can foster the creation of a culture of passivity (Brody, 1968). This world is characterized by despair, impotence, and feelings of inability to change the world. Pablo Freires' (1970a, 1970b, 1973) definition of the culture of silence is related to this concept of cultural passivity:

> The distinguishing feature of this mode (of consciousness) is its lack of "structural perception" with respect to the ability to identify accurately the major determinants (whether economic, political, or cultural) which affect it. Lacking structural perception of the environment, individuals manifesting semi-intransitive consciousness tend to look beyond the objective reality, i.e., to the magical, for causes which affect their lives and their attitudes toward things as they are. The situation becomes more fatalistic than hopeful. Its "central datum" is that of silence (Bugbee, 1973, p. 419).

Adaptation and acculturation

Prejudice and lack of economic opportunity are important barriers to acculturation. The majority of low socioeconomic migrants are integrated into society through the ghetto.

> The ghetto is one type of mediating organization, although it may not always have that effect. As a geographically and socially defined unit in which the new arrival finds others of his own kind, sharing common norms and language, it can act as a buffer mechanism permitting him a pause for personal and social reorganization before making his way into the larger cosmopolitan urban environment. Even though for many the ghetto is the terminal geographical point (Brody, 1979, p. 19).

For most minority members, adaptation means the acceptance of a role in society that constrains individual development. Acceptance of the minority role in society does not allow acculturation on an equal basis with other citizens of the country of adoption. Acculturation is a function of the contact that the migrant has outside his group of origin. When contact is minimal, as in the case of first generation housewives, then acculturation is minimal. Males, because of their contact with the work world, usually are at an intermediate stage of acculturation. Children can achieve acculturation more rapidly because of their socialization within the school system (Falicov and Karrer, 1980). When the majority group exerts extreme pressure against the acculturation of a specific group of migrants, advocates of a pluralistic organization of society often emerge.

Lack of systemic and ecological studies of family life, work, and neighborhood

Family, work, and neighborhood have typically been treated as isolated realms. In a review, Kanter (1977) noted that:

> ...despite the agreement that the family and the economy as institutions are linked in broad ways, the specific intersections and transactions between work and family, between occupations and families as connected organizers of experience and systems of social relations, are virtually ignored. There are only a handful of studies that consider the connections between work and family life...And there is only a limited amount of research or theory that considers the behavior and experiences of people in both their work and family situations by looking at people in both contexts (p. 239).

Studies that analyze family life in relationship to larger systems are still in a minority. Recently, however, the development and proliferation of the systemic paradigm of family therapy, with its concomitant emphasis on a systemic interactional view of human phenomena, has created interest in studying the family within the context of larger social systems.

Summary

The review of the literature regarding the interface between family and larger systems was discussed in this chapter. These interfaces are: family and work; family and neighborhood; and family and the social systems (or dynamics) associated with migration.

The next chapter will be a discussion of the methodology of the study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Purpose of This Study

This study describes the effects of economically induced migration on families who moved from Puerto Rico to the United States. The interactions among families and the systems involved in the migratory experience are explored in their natural context. The focus is on the relationships among work, family and community. The study is qualitative and employs multiple instruments. It describes: a) the interdependence of family life, neighborhood, and economically induced migration; b) the importance of cultural continuities and discontinuities in the family life of the migrant; and c) the importance of macrosystems, mesosystems, and exosystems in the migrant's family life.

The data obtained in this study should make it possible to design mental health services that are culturally syntonic to the migrant population.

Review of the Literature Regarding the Methodology of Family Studies

The greatest amount of psychosocial research data concerning the family have been obtained either from self-reported measures (i.e., questionnaires, interviews) or from observing family members' behavior in laboratory or treatment settings. Although researchers have

emphasized studying behavior in its natural environment, few investigators have made home observations of families. Very few home observations have been made by participant observers.[1]

At least four relevant participant observation studies have been conducted (Henry, 1971; Kantor and Lehr, 1975; Piotrkowski, 1979; Navarro Hernandez, 1978). Henry (1971) observed five families. His methodology consisted of being in the family's home from morning (breakfast) until family members went to bed. Henry studied only within-family patterns and did not observe the interactions between the family system and larger systems. Since the husbands were at work during the day, the majority of his time was spent watching the wife and children. Kanton and Lehr (1975) also examined interactions in the home using participant observation. They assumed that the family is a system of dynamic interacting components and that the family should be observed in its own social context or environment. Nevertheless, these researchers mainly concentrated on the internal family system and only secondarily assessed members' trips outside the home. The study by Piotrkowski (1979) is very important because the interaction between the family system and the work system was observed. However, the results are limited for two reasons: only two families were observed and these observations were limited to one day. Additional data were obtained through interviews. All family members of

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[1]A participant observer is an individual who lives with the family while making observations. The participant observer usually assumes a relatively passive role in the interaction field and avoids interfering with the family's normal interactional pattern.

thirteen families were interviewed. Navarro Hernandez (1978) used participant observation to study the structure of several Puerto Rican families within the context of migration and poverty. However, Hernandez did not reside with the families studied. In addition, there is no systemic description of the interactions between families and the other systems. This study is important, though, because it describes the structure of the Puerto Rican family in the United States.

The present study broadens the traditional scope and examines family interactions with several external systems. It is similar to studies just described because of the interest in observing the family in a natural context.

This work is more extensive than the other, however, because more extensive and varied data were collected. Observers actually resided with the families day and night for a period of one week. Some of the most interesting data regarding the interrelation between family and neighborhood was obtained after the family was sleeping (such as, how the families in the neighborhood helped each other when the boiler exploded; when there was a fire; or criminality). In addition, extended contact was achieved since the observer continued interacting with family members for the six months during questionnaire administration, network mapping, and interviews. The present research also includes more social systems (i.e., family, work, neighborhood, mesosystems, exosystems and macrosystems).

General Overview of the Design

The study aims to describe the interactions, negotiations, and

emotional implications among the migrant families and the different systems they encounter as a result of migration.

The systems that form the migrant experience are divided in microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems. The family and its subsystems are the principle microsystem under observation. The interaction between the family and several mesosystems (i.e., neighborhood, school, church and some social agencies)are a further focus of study. Also examined is the influence of one exosystem, the media exosystem. Finally, this study considers the influence of a macrosystem on family and neighborhood life. The macrosystem tends to maintain similar patterns of relationship among the different microsystems, mesosystems and exosystems that affect the migrant family.

In order to study the patterns of relationships among the family and these different systems, a multi-instrument approach was chosen. These instruments used were participant observation, interviews, network mapping, neighborhood mapping, key informers, census information, and media analysis.[2]

The study represents a compromise between ideographic and nomothetic concerns. The contextual and behavioral setting data help describe the issues faced by lower socioeconomic class Puerto Rican individuals and families in their interactions with various subsystems of a different and often alien society. To a lesser extent, the interviews and social agency observations also provide information

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[2]These data collection techniques will be discussed later in this chapter.

concerning these issues. The more intensive ideographic approach of this study provides a closer, more intimate view of the relationship within the family and with the community. By combining these two approaches, the direct and indirect impacts of external subsystems on family process become observable.

Participants in Data Collection

As a teaching assistant in the Psychology Department of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the author conducted a class, in Spanish, for twenty-six undergraduate Latino students. The class focused on family and migration. Topics included in the class were participant observation, ethnography, interview methodology, and media analysis. After preliminary didactic training, small groups of students worked on specific sub-projects in the Puerto Rican communities of Springfield, MA (i.e., documentary and demography research, community mapping, observations in social agencies, studies of public media reports).

Participant Observation with Three Families

Much of the data were collected while an investigator lived with and observed three families in their homes and at other behavioral settings (i.e., work, agencies and communities). Each family was observed for one week. Investigators were relatively unobtrusive while they made their observations. When possible, they joined the family members in the neighborhood, at social agencies, with friends, in

formal and informal institutions, and with extended family. The emphasis was on observing, understanding, and experiencing the family's life on its own terms. Each observer took notes during the day and wrote detailed notes at night. A tape recorder was available in order to document any important information. With two of the families, the author stayed in the household day and night. The third family was also observed by a female assistant who arrived early in the morning and left at 10:00 p.m.[3] The female assistant was recruited when it became clear that a male researcher would not be able to observe some female activities. Even with the help of the female assistant, observations into the female sphere were very rare. Women in the study were observed in the context of the family. The researchers were not able to observe when they engaged in activities with other women alone.

Validity of Observations

Two factors may enhance the validity of the observations made in this study. First, the principal researcher has worked as a psychotherapist in this community for four years. He is familiar with the community and the Puerto Rican culture. Second, although participant observation was limited to a week for each family, other observations (i.e., interviewing, network mapping, observation in other settings) of each family lasted four to five months.

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[3]Evelyn Morales was a member of the undergraduate class and was trained in field and naturalistic observation skills. The emphasis of this training was on constructing concrete, rather than vague, notes and developing notations to distinguish descriptions from direct quotations.

Subject Selection Criteria

When making observations, it is important to have sufficient diversity among families so that different patterns of relationships can be observed. It is also important that families be similar enough so that generalizations can be made. In order to ensure sufficient similarity, all three observed families had the following characteristics: a) the parental subsystem of the nuclear family was composed of first-generation migrants. All were born and socialized in Puerto Rico; b) the household had at least one adolescent child living at home; c) the head of the family was of the working class; and d) all families had extended family members residing in Puerto Rico. The selected families also met other criteria to ensure that the sample had sufficient variability: a) since the ecosystem or origin affects parents' socialization, a range of parental backgrounds was selected. The families came from a sugar cane and small crop family, a coffee community, and an urban neighborhood, and b) the families were divided evenly between proprietors and nonproprietors. One family lived in a rented apartment. A second family lived in a two-story house which was owned by the family. The third family was a blended family. The stepfather owned a house in a city near Springfield while the mother lived in a rented apartment in Springfield.

Family Interest in Research

All families were highly motivated to participate in the research. The researcher explained the importance of studying the process of

migration. In addition, the researcher provided each family with $100 in order to help with groceries and expenses during the observation week. None of these families accepted money. The researcher, however, bought groceries for the family during the week.

Participant Observation in the Community Agency

A team of six trained students from the class on family and migration established connections with a community agency by offering translation services to people dealing with other agencies in Springfield.[4] The students accompanied people to the appropriate agencies and acted as translators. At the same time, the students observed the interaction between the service seeker and service provider. The students were available at the community agency from April 1, 1982 to May 31, 1982. During this period, they had forty contacts. They observed interactions in agencies throughout Springfield. The students made daily reports of their observations.

Interviews

Interviews provided additional information. Each parent in the three families was interviewed. (A sample of the interview protocol can be found in Appendix A.) All interviews were taped. Assurance was given to all participants that their anonymity would be maintained. The interview was administered to a total of six persons.

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[4]Geraldo Acosta, Evelyn Diaz, Rafael Ortiz, Ramonta Santiago, Sandra Chevalier, Solima Gonzalez.

Network Analysis

Part of the data about the family and the larger systems was obtained through network mapping and network analysis of each member of a family being studied by participant observers. Network analysis provided information regarding the: a) resource base of the community; b) migrant's support system; c) assimilation to the Anglo society; and d) the number of available institutions in the community.

Media Analysis

A content analysis of Springfield newspapers was conducted to determine what information the general population in Springfield received about the Puerto Rican population. For each two-week period, four undergraduate students[5] read one of three newspapers. The Monday edition of the "Springfield Daily News" was used to represent the first segment. For the subsequent two weeks, a Tuesday paper was chosen from the "Springfield Daily News." When Sunday was reached, "The Sunday Republican" was reviewed. In this way, the students reviewed 200 editions from 1972 to 1981. As a partial control for individual biases, each student covered all the years of the sample. A form was prepared (see Appendix B) containing seven categories of information. These seven categories are general information, summary of the news content, categories of general topics, intensity, reporters'

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[5]Alberto Ortiz, Mercedez Jimenez, Leonardo Alvarez Zapata, Melvin C. Figueroa.

position, news origin, personal commentaries.

Key Informers

A key informer is a member of the community who knows the community and also understands the theoretical framework of the study. The researcher had access to two key informers. Both of them were students of Psychology and members of the community. One of the key informers had worked as a mental health professional for four years in Springfield. The other one was an undergraduate student at the University of Massachusetts. The key informers were asked about identified patterns observed during the participant observation stage of this study. The key informers' observations were used to improve the quality of the data.

Contextual and Demographic Data

Several types of contextual and demographic data were collected. These data consisted of: a) statistical and census information (i.e., census information for the community was obtained for the years 1970 and 1980; b) economic information about the Springfield area; c) a detailed description of three Springfield neighborhoods with significant Puerto Rican populations (i.e., Brighstar, New Land, and Little Italy). Four undergraduate students[6] described the three neighborhoods in terms of building structures, streets, parks. Each street was mapped

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[6]Alberto Ortiz, Yolanda Nazario, Santa Arroyo, Mildred Mendez

by a team of two persons. Each structure's location on the street was plotted and each structure was described. This detailed description of the community structures and the area surrounding them yielded information about the urban setting and the neighborhood.

Summary

The methodology of this work is related to the purpose of the study. This study describes and analyzes the interactions between the migrant families and the different systems that they encounter in their adopted country and the emotional implications of these issues. In order to study the patterns of relationships among the family and these different systems, a multi-instrument approach was chosen. The following instruments provided the data source of this study: participant observation, structured interviews, network analysis, media analysis, economic information, key informers, census information, and behavioral setting mapping. Table 1 presents a summary of the data techniques used and the type of information obtained.

In the next chapter, the city of Springfield, the demographics of the Puerto Rican population, and the families of the study will be described.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF DATA SOURCES AND SAMPLES

Data Source	Sample	Data Gathered By	Locus
Participant observation	3 families each observed for one week	2 observers, one male, one female	Home and community *
Structured interviews	6 interviews	researcher	family, work and neighborhood *
Network analyses	one family (5 members)	researcher	family interactions *
Participant observation	40 contacts	6 observers	community agencies
Media analyses	200 newspapers (1972-1981)	4 analysts	city
Economic information	library research	researcher	work
Key informers	repeated contacts for 2 years	two persons	family, work and neighborhood
Census information	1979, 1980	researcher	community
Behavioral setting Mapping	3 Puerto Rican neighborhoods	four assistant researchers	neighborhood

*These are the three families studied in participant observation at home.

CHAPTER IV

THE CITY OF SPRINGFIELD, THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES STUDIED.

Introduction

This chapter describes the characteristics of the city of Springfield and the neighborhoods that constitute the Puerto Rican community. The second part of this chapter presents basic demographic information concerning the Puerto Rican population (i.e., population, age structure, family size and structure, language, education, employment, and family income).

The City

The city is an important context for the migrant families. Both the family and community move in an urban space. This urban space has physical characteristics that can enhance or limit the quality of life. The purpose of this section is to describe the urban context of the Puerto Rican community in Springfield.

The city, which was the primary focus of this study, is Springfield, Massachusetts. The city is the largest in Western Massachusetts and is located in the Pioneer Valley. According to the 1980 census, Springfield has a population of around 152,000. In Springfield there are around 20,000 Hispanics and 98% of them are Puerto Ricans. The city is a short driving distance from other cities having a considerable

Puerto Rican population (i.e., Holyoke population is 25 percent Puerto Rican; Hartford, CT also has a large Puerto Rican population).

An important aspect of the urban environment is the type and condition of housing. Within Springfield there are a few large buildings. In the downtown area there are less than ten buildings which are more than eight stories high. Housing is a major problem in Springfield. There has been a decline in the number of rental units available to the poor. A survey found that from 1970 to 1980, 1,000 units of housing were demolished in the Hispanic neighborhoods alone. It was not until 1979 that eleven units were constructed to replace some of those that were destroyed (Sunday Republican, 1980). In the Hispanic neighborhoods, 20 percent of the housing units are substandard. The number of residential units available in the Hispanic neighborhoods is decreasing, although some appropriate housing facilities do exist. Adjacent to deteriorated areas are some well kept, low income areas where a sense of neighborhood prevails. This sense of neighborhood is exemplified in the proliferation of gardens. There are private and public efforts to rehabilitate the area.[7]

> Homesteading programs on the Old Park and tenements projects in the Melrose end have preserved housing stock that probably would have gone down under the arsonist's torch. The buildings were saved by proud owners or tenants who put their toil and sweat into the projects (Springfield Sunday Republican, 1980).

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[7]The names of the neighborhoods of the Hispanic community are changed in order to protect the anonymity of the participants.

Melrose End is included in the development plans of the public sector, but the area designated as a New Melrose End Plaza is on the fringe of the community and not at the Hispanic community's center. There is also a private corporation, The Melrose End Development Corporation, that is beginning to develop a plan of economic revitalization. However, this corporation is just beginning and the availability of federal funds is always uncertain. Additionally, banks tend not to lend money for rehabilitation in the Hispanic neighborhood. This practice is known as "redlining" and traditionally has hampered rehabilitation of poor neighborhoods across the United States.

The Neighborhoods

The Hispanic population is concentrated in the three areas of Newland, Brightstar, and Little Italy.[8] In order to provide an idea of the urban physical environment that constitutes each Puerto Rican neighborhood, one area will be described.

A sector of Brightstar is presented. All the structures on four streets are presented. Each structure is identified with a number which corresponds to a description found in Appendix C. There are 35 structures on these four streets. Eleven of these structures are apartment buildings; five of the apartment buildings are in good condition, two are totally abandoned, two are in bad condition, and two are being built. There are also eight private businesses; five

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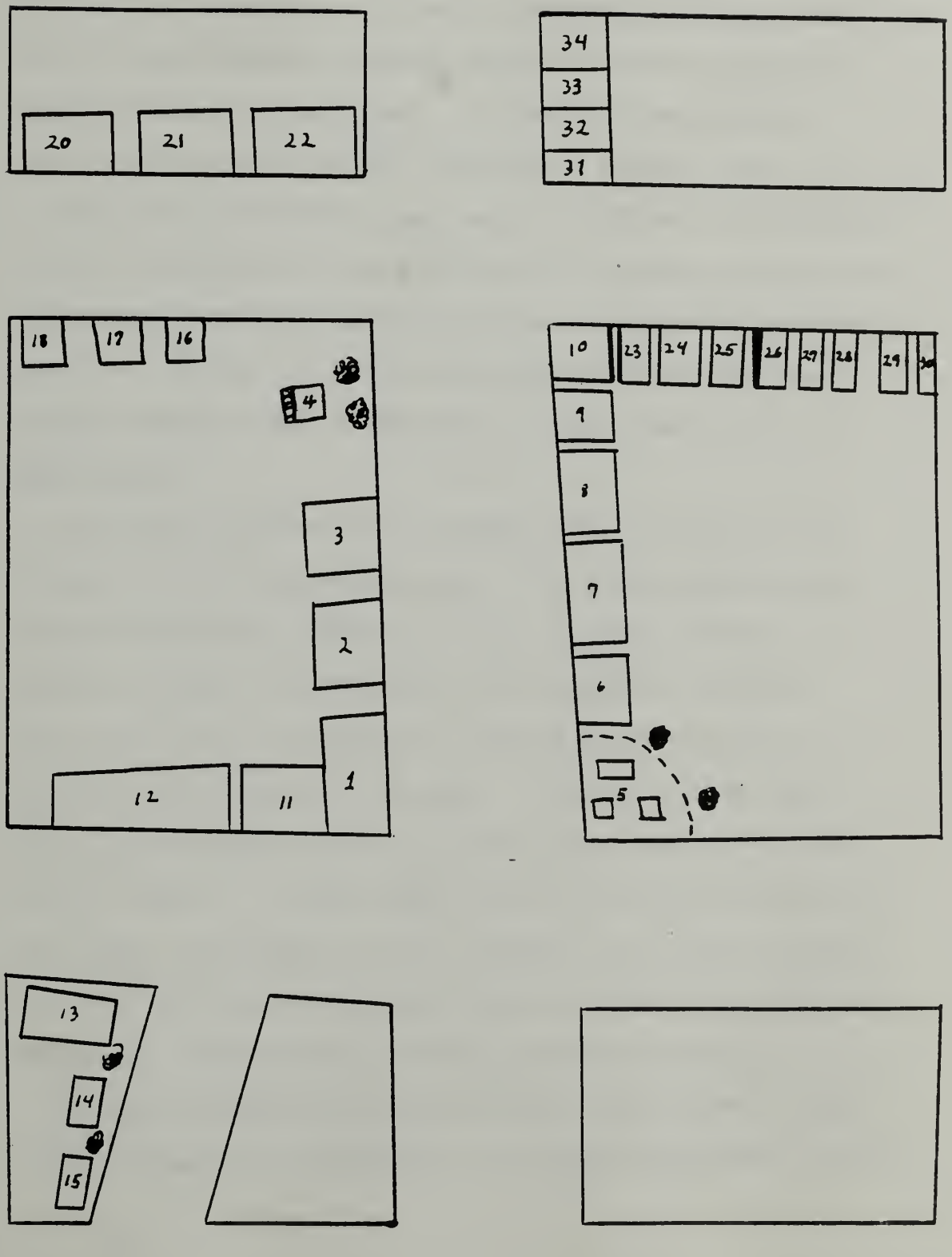
[8]The names of these three areas are ficticious. Street names have also been changed to ensure anonymity.

(Fig. 1)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are in good condition and three have been totally abandoned. Of fifteen private houses, fourteen are in good condition and one is abandoned. In a vacant lot, formerly occupied by a private house, there is now a communal vegetable garden. In front of structure number 30 there is a small park. This park has two basketball courts, an area for children's recreation, a handball court, and a green area of almost 300 square feet. Main Street is a principal street in Springfield. Many drivers use it to connect to the interstate going north. Consequently, the area is unsafe for unattended children. The park is the ideal place for recreation, but some community members avoid it because it is also a meeting spot for gang members.

The second important area is Newland which is separated from Brightstar by the interstate highway. This highway construction divides the Hispanic community in two. The urban structure in Newland is similar to Brightstar with one important exception: about half of the neighborhood is composed of public housing. The public housing consists of two types. The first type is high rise buildings of twenty-stories. The second type is two-story houses called "condos." In these condos, two units share a dividing wall. The condos' surroundings are very pleasant (i.e., trees and plants are prevalent, gardens have been planted in front of the condos by residents). The residents call these condos "las casitas."

A major concentration of Puerto Ricans is also found in Little Italy, although it is predominantly an Italian neighborhood. Puerto

Ricans live in deteriorated four-story apartment buildings. The surrounding community is very hostile to the Puerto Rican population. During the 1960s, young members of the Italian community used Molotov cocktail and firearams to attack Puerto Rican dwellings.

The Population

The first Puerto Ricans who migrated to this area around 1950 were seasonal workers. Many of these migrant workers stayed in the area when they obtained permanent employment. In 1957 it was estimated that there were 746 Puerto Ricans in the city (A Church and Community Study, 1957). The Puerto Rican community in Springfield grew as Puerto Ricans arrived from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, according to S.A.U. (1977-78):[9]

> ...respondents came to Springfield in search of economic opportunities, better living environment opportunities, which they hoped would include better housing, education and social services and also because they had family and friends here (p. 20).

Minorities in 1978, including blacks and Puerto Ricans, comprise 25 percent of the population of Springfield. The 1970 U.S. census reported that 4,000 Puerto Ricans lived in Springfield, but this was a gross under-estimate (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972, 1974). In order to obtain a better estimate of the Puerto Rican population

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[9]The S.A.U. (1977-78) survey disputed the popular belief that Puerto Ricans came to Springfield in search of welfare benefits. Similar motivations have been alleged as the causes for Puerto Rican migration in other areas of the United States (Maldonado, 1976).

and of its demographics, the Spanish American Union funded a study (1977-78) by the Springfield Planning Department and the Demographic Research Institute at the University of Massachusetts. This study estimated that the Puerto Rican population in Springfield was around 16,000 in 1977-78, with 90 percent concentrated in the Melrose End area, Newland, Brightstar and Little Italy. Five to eight percent were scattered around the rest of the city.

Age structure

S.A.U. (1977-78) study also described the age distribution for this Puerto Rican population. The average age for Puerto Ricans was younger than that of any other ethnic group in the Springfield area (i.e., 51.1 percent are 14 years or younger; 18.8 percent are 15-24; 14.4 percent are 25-34; 11.7 percent are 35-54; and 3.5 percent are 55 years old or older).

Family size and structure

The same study (1977-78) provided information concerning family size and structure. It found that 36.6 percent of Puerto Rican families have five or more members. In contrast, only 16.6 percent of the families in Massachusetts have families of that size. Although ten percent of Puerto Rican families had more than seven members, this pattern was found in only two percent of the general population. Females headed 55 percent of the Puerto Rican families surveyed. This pattern is similar to other migrant groups which were previously in pockets of poverty in the urban inner-city.

Language

The S.A.U. (1977-78) study also reported data on language capabilities. Spanish was clearly the dominant language. In 75 percent of the households, Spanish was the primary language spoken in the home. Only one-third of the Puerto Ricans in Springfield spoke, read, or wrote more than "a little" English. However, in 21.8 percent of the households, Spanish and English were spoken equally in the home. In 3.4 percent of the households, English was spoken as the primary language and Spanish was used secondarily. English was the only spoken language at home in only 1 percent of the cases. Spanish was the dominant language for 95.8 percent of the respondents in the study. However, 35.5 percent of the respondents rated their English-speaking skills as fairly good to excellent.

Education

This study also examined the educational level of the Puerto Rican population in Springfield. The study found that the general level of education was low (i.e., 54 percent received eight or fewer years of education; 27.3 percent received 9-11 years; and only 12.9 percent were high school graduates). Also, only 5.7 percent had gone to college. The S.A.U. (1977-78) study concludes:

> What is apparent though is that the educational system has not met the educational needs of its Spanish-speaking citizens as can be witnessed by the high dropout rates from the Springfield School system. The area of education, and especially bilingual education, in the Springfield area is in need of further planning and expansion (p. 43).

Employment

The S.A.U. (1977-78) study found that the majority of employed Puerto Ricans in Springfield have low status, low paying jobs. This employment situation helps perpetuate the cycle of poverty in the community. Table 2 shows the percentages of employed Puerto Ricans in Springfield in 1977, as compared to the percentages of all individuals in Massachusetts in 1970.[10] Fifty-four (54) percent of the Puerto Ricans employed were in declining areas of the economy (14.8 percent in agriculture; 22.2 percent in non-durable manufacturing; 17.9 percent in durable manufacturing) as compared with only 30.6 percent of the population of Massachusetts (i.e., 4.6 percent in agriculture; 10.6 percent in non-durable manufacturing). Furthermore, agriculture and non-durable manufacturing are the lowest paying jobs in the state.

The decline of agriculture and non-durable manufacturing in the Springfield area is illustrated in Tables 3 and 4. Changes in one durable manufacturing industry, the paper industry, illustrate this point. In 1962 there were 13 industrial establishments in Holyoke producing paper with an employment of 1,649 workers. By 1973, however, there were only 11 establishments that employed 678 workers (Census of Manufacturers, 1973). Automation has also influenced the

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[10]These comparisons should be taken as approximations since the state of the economy changed from 1970 to 1977. Generally, the conditions for minorities tend to be significantly worse for any given time period.

TABLE 2

EMPLOYED PUERTO RICANS (MALES AND FEMALES) BY INDUSTRY IN SPRINGFIELD, 1977 IN RELATION TO ALL PERSONS IN THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1970.

	Industry	Puerto Ricans 1977	General Population in Massachusetts 1970
1.	Agriculture	14.8%	4.6%
2.	Construction	1.8%	5.8%
3.	Manufacturing:		
	Non Durable	22.2%	10.6%
	Durable	17.9%	15.4%
4.	Transportation, Communications, Utilities	1.2%	6.8%
5.	Wholesale - Retail	8.0%	20.1%
6.	Finance	2.4%	5.0%
7.	Business:		
	Repair Service	1.8%	3.1%
8.	Personal Service	2.4%	4.5%
9.	Entertainment-Recreation	.6%	.8%
10.	Professional Service	18.5%	17.6%
11.	Public Administration	8.0%	5.6%
	TOTAL:	99.6% (N = 162)	99.9%

Source: S.A.U., Demographic Survey of Hispanic Households in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1977-78, p. 54.

TABLE 3

REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF FARM BUSINESSES
SURROUNDING SPRINGFIELD

	1945	1954	1959	1964	1969	Est. 1974
Hampden County	3442	1412	857	580	367	350
Hampshire County	3187	1601	1156	906	664	650
TOTAL:	6629	3022	2013	1486	1021	1000

Source: Wark, D. Regional econimic activity. Springfield: Lower Pioneer Valley Regional Planning Commission, 1977, p. 43.

TABLE 4

REDUCTION IN ACREAGE DEVOTED TO AGRICULTURE
IN AREAS SURROUNDING SPRINGFIELD

	1945	1954	1959	1964	1969	Est. 1974
Hampden County	196	116.4	91	67	46	44
Hampshire County	211	150.4	123.3	94	80.8	79
TOTAL:	407	267	214	161	127	123

Source: Wark, D. Regional economic activity. Springfield: Lower Pioneer Valley Regional Planning Commission: 1977, p. 43.

employment status of the Puerto Rican population. Since World War II, U.S. industries have increasingly substituted automation for human power (Braverman, 1975). One of the subjects of the present study described the process of automation in a bicycle factory where hundreds of Puerto Ricans used to work:

> In that factory there used to be one hundred here, soldering the bicycles. All that is now done by a machine. They went to a big room where at least 50 persons were painting the bicycles, all that is lost now; they put all the bicycles on a belt that goes through a tunnel and when they come out, are painted already. Where they employed fifty, now they only need four. A lot of Puerto Ricans used to work in that factory.

The loss of jobs to the Sun Belt area affects the employment status of the Puerto Rican population in Springfield. Massachusetts has lost 80,000 jobs in the past decade to the Sun Belt Area. Also, the remaining blue collar jobs have moved from the central areas of the city to the suburbs. According to S.A.U. (1977-78), sixty percent of Hispanics in Springfield do not have private transportation. The lack of public transportation to the suburbs has prevented Puerto Ricans from competing for these blue collar jobs. Also, Puerto Ricans' low educational levels have kept them from obtaining white collar jobs. Regarding employment in the government sector, S.A.U. (1977-78) comments:

> Government, which has increasingly played an important role in creating employment, has not been responsive to the Puerto Rican community as a source of jobs, as can be witnessed by the small number of Puerto Ricans employed in the government sector. Practically all Puerto Ricans in government jobs are in low-level entry positions and not in secure, long-term positions (p. 51).

The S.A.U. (1977-78) study found high levels of unemployment among Puerto Rican men in Springfield (i.e., 55.1 percent of those aged 16-20 years; 57.5 percent aged 21-24; 31.3 percent aged 35-44; and 28.5 percent aged 45-54). Focusing on men currently unemployed and looking for a job, S.A.U. (1977-78) found that 64 percent were under 25 years old. Also, 68 percent of the men in this age category (25 years old or younger) had been previously employed in entry-level blue collar jobs or agriculture.

Similar results were found for the Puerto Rican women. A small proportion were employed, although a large proportion of Puerto Rican women wanted to work:

> There is a strong desire on the part of a majority of women to work; however, they are systematically excluded from the labor force because of child-care needs, lack of skills training and lack of transportation. Other factors affecting their situation are employer discrimination based on both ethnicity and sex (S.A.U., 1977-78, p. 73).

According to this same study, 50.5 percent of the women interviewed were interested in working if they could get babysitting or child care services; 23.6 percent of these women had actively tried to get work in the past.

Family income

Puerto Rican families in Springfield are characterized by low family incomes due to low paying jobs, seasonal work, and unemployment. Table 5 compares the family income of Puerto Ricans in 1977-78 with that of all families in Massachusetts. One striking feature of

Table 5 is that 13.3 percent of all Puerto Rican families had incomes of less than $3,000 in 1977-78 as compared to 6.4 percent for the general population; 43.2 percent of Puerto Ricans in the survey had between $3,000 and $5,000 as compared to 7.2 percent for the population of Massachusetts. In 1977-78 the median Puerto Rican family income was below $5,000; an income of $5,000 or less for an average family size of five means subsistence at a poverty level.

TABLE 5

FAMILY INCOME OF PUERTO RICANS (1977) IN RELATION TO ALL FAMILIES IN THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS (1970).

Income	Puerto Ricans Survey 1977	Total Massachusetts 1970
Less than $3,000	13.1%	6.4%
$ 3,000 to $ 5,000	43.2%	7.2%
$ 5,000 to $ 7,000	18.4%	9.7%
$ 7,000 to $10,000	16.0%	20.5%
$10,000 to $15,000	6.1%	30.9%
$15,000 to $25,000	2.7%	19.5%
$25,000 and Over	.5%	5.6%
TOTALS:	100.0% (N = 375)	99.8% (N=1,390,982)
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME:	$4,859	$10,835

Source: S.A.U. Demographic survey of hispanic households in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1977-78, pg. 76.

The Families of the Study: General Demographic Characteristics

Three families were observed in participant observation at home. The next section of the study will focus on the particular characteristics of these families.

Don Gervasio's and Doña Carmen's family

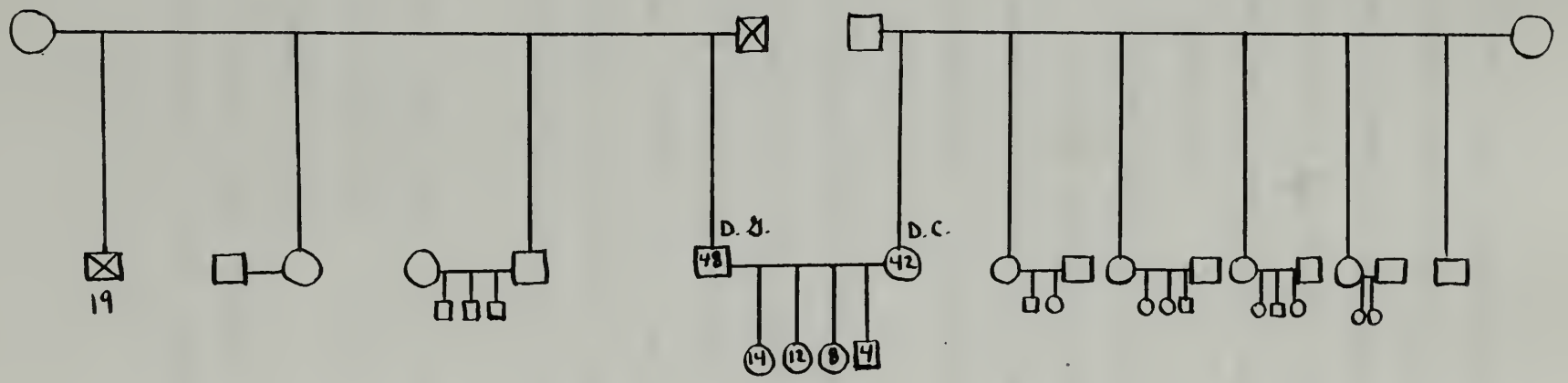
Don Gervasio's nuclear family included himself (age 48), his wife, Doña Carmen (age 42) and four children (three females, 14, 12 and 8; one male, 4).

Don Gervasio's extended family all lived in Puerto Rico or in New York. In contrast, Doña Carmen's extended family all resided in Springfield, MA. Her extended family included her mother and father, three married sisters, one married brother, and an adolescent single brother. Illustration #1 is the family genogram for Don Gervasio's family.

In this genogram, the world for Don Gervasio's family consists of the interactions, at different levels, with nine households. Five of these households are Doña Carmen's family of origin. All of them are in Springfield.

In contrast, Don Gervasio's family of origin is composed of three households, one in Puerto Rico and two in New York. The additional household is Don Gervasio and Doña Carmen's own nuclear household. In the genogram, the ages of the nuclear family under participant observation and the ages of any adolescents in the total family network are indicated.

(Fig. 2)



□: Male ○ : Female ⊠ :Death □—○ :Marriage □—○ :Children listed in birth order (10, 2)

□—/—○ : Marital Separation

□—//—○ : Marital Divorce

Don Gervasio had been recently receiving social security disability because of a back condition and two hernias. He was injured while working in a metal foundry for at least six years. His wife only had sporadic outside work experience. Usually she worked for short periods of time (two to three weeks) and on special occasions (like Christmas and Thanksgiving).

Don Gervasio is of brown complexion. Doña Carmen is white with straight black hair. All their children are also white.

They live in a rented apartment in a severely deteriorated building marked for urban renovation. The building in which they reside is a center of gang activity.

The predominant language spoken in Don Gervasio's nuclear family is Spanish, but they feel more or less comfortable talking in English. The parents talk with a strong accent and the children were more fluent.

The family income is around $8,000 a year for six family members. The source of this income is Don Gervasio's social security disability check. They classify themselves as "poor" in terms of socioeconimic strata.

Don Gervasio had an eighth grade level of formal education and Doña Carmen had a sixth grade level. All the children are at school in age-appropriate academic levels.

In terms of the migratory stages described previously by Sluzki (1979), Don Gervasio's family is in the transgenerational phenomena stage.

Their oldest daughter (14) already is beginning to introduce conflicts that can be classified as intergenerational (i.e., she does not agree with parental restrictions regarding dances and curfew).

Don Ramon and Doña Consuelo's family

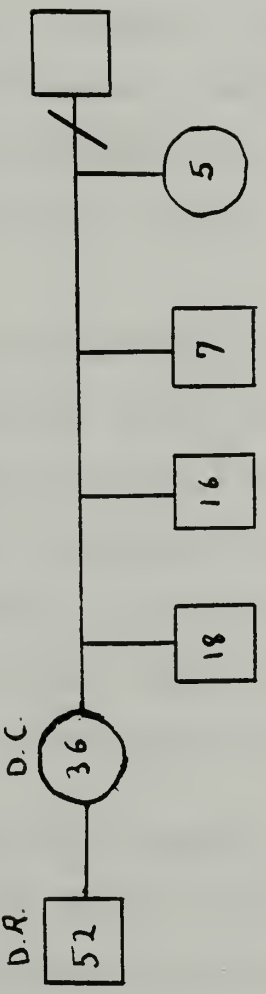
Don Ramon and Doña Consuelo's nuclear family include himself (age 52), Doña Consuelo (age 36), two adolescent boys living at home (age 18 and 16), a 7-year-old boy and a 5-year-old girl (see genogram #2). Doña Consuelo had two previous marital relationships. In the first she bore the oldest two sons (18, 16); the two youngest children (7, 5) are from the second marriage. Don Ramon also has three children from a previous marriage (males 26 and 24; and a female, 21). All of them are married and reside in New York.

Don Ramon and Doña Consuelo do not have any extended family in the Springfield area. All their extended families reside in Puerto Rico.

Don Ramon is receiving social disability because of a work-related injury. Don Ramon has had an extensive job history (farm work, tobacco and construction work in Puerto Rico; migrant worker on farms in Miami, New Jersey and Massachusetts; he also worked in a restaurant in Detroit, Michigan, and for the last 12 years he has worked in the Columbia bicycle factory in West Springfield.

Doña Consuelo has had no formal job outside of the household.

Don Ramon's complexion is fair, with blue eyes and Doña Consuelo and all her children are dark brown with black eyes. They live in a



(Fig. 3)

rented apartment in a very deteriorated building marked for urban renovation. This building is a center for gang activity.

The language spoken at Don Ramon's house is Spanish, although all the members of the household, with the exception of Doña Consuelo, speak English.

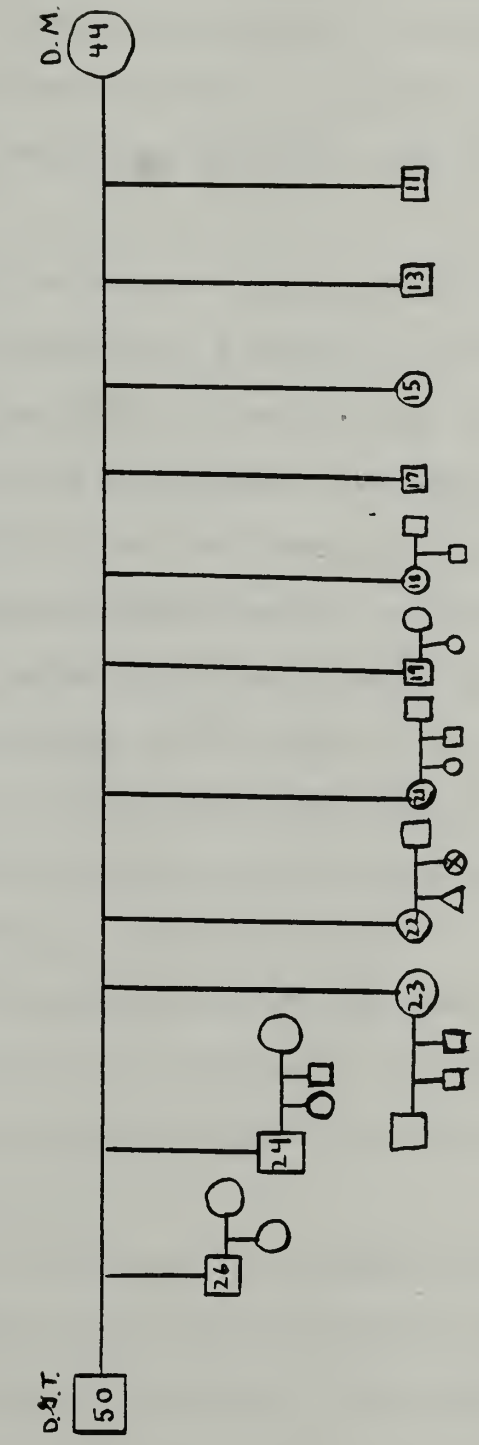
The family income is estimated at $9,000 per year. This includes Don Ramon's pension and some help Doña Consuelo is receiving from Aid For Families with Dependent Children Program (AFDC). Both the 18-and 16-year-old adolescents receive a small check from the AFDC program directly.

Don Ramon classifies himself as pertaining lower middle class, but Doña Consuelo classifies herself as lower class. Both Don Ramon and Doña Consuelo have had less than six grade level formal education. The two older children (18, 16) are high school dropouts and gang members. The two youngest children are in elementary school.

In terms of the migratory stages described by Sluzki (1979), Don Ramon's family is in the transgenerational phenomena stage.

Don Fernando's and Doña Maria's family

Don Fernando and Doña Maria's nuclear family include himself (age 50), his wife, Doña Maria (age 44) and eleven children (six males, ages 26, 24, 19, 18, 17, 13 and 11; five females, ages 23, 22, 21, 18, and 15). (See genogram #3.) Of the male children, three (ages 26, 24 and 18) are married with children of their own. Of the female children, four (ages 23, 22, 21, and 18) are married with



(Fig. 4)

children of their own. Don Fernando and Doña Maria have a total of nine grandchildren. All the married children live in separate households near Don Fernando's and Doña Maria's household. Four adolescent children live with Don Fernanco and Doña Maria (ages 17, 15, 13, and 11).

Don Fernando's family of origin is dispersed as follows: in Philadelphia he has two borthers and a sister; in Puerto Rico he has another sister; and in Springfield his mother lives in a nursing home and a brother lives with Don Fernando. Don Fernando's father lived with him in Springfield and died three years ago. Dona Maria's family of origin is dispersed between New York and Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico she has her mother and father, eight brothers and sisters; in New York she has one brother and one sister.

Dona Maria works as a factory worker in Springfield, MA. Don Fernando is unemployed at this moment and receiving unemployment compensation. He is actively looking for a job.

Don Fernando is of brown complexion and Doña Maria is white with straight black hair. All their children, with the exception of the 17-year-old male, are white with black hair; the 17-year-old male is brown skinned with curly hair.

Don Fernando owns his own home. The language predominantly spoken is Spanish, although all of them consider themselves fluent in English. The parents and older children talk with a strong accent and the other children are more fluent.

The estimated nuclear family income for Don Fernando and Dona Maria is around $12,000 per year for a family of seven. They classify themselves as "poor" in terms of socioeconomic strata and working class to their integration to production. Don Fernando and Dona Maria have each had less than a fifth-grade education. Their children, living at home, are all in age-appropriate academic levels.

In terms of the migratory stages described by Sluzki (1979), Don Fermando's family is now in the intergenerational conflict stage (i.e., some of their children at home resent religious restrictions regarding parties and music).

In this chapter a description of the city of Springfield, MA has been presented. Also the demographic characteristics of the Puerto Rican population in Springfield were discussed. Finally, a description of the three families of the study was provided.

In the next chapter the interface between the families of the study and work will be discussed.

CHAPTER V

FAMILY AND WORK

Introduction

The families in the present study migrated from Puerto Rico to the United States and had to interact with demands and structures of an already established system. The work experiences of these families in the United States were quite different from their work experiences in Puerto Rico.

In order to understand how these experiences affected the families studied, it is necessary to understand the context in which these experiences occurred. First, the traditional Puerto Rican society will be described. Then, the family-work interfaces in Puerto Rico and the United States will be discussed. Next, the effects of these family-work interfaces on family hierarchy will be described. Finally, the specific task of introducing a family member to work will be considered within the context of family-work interfaces.

The migrants who came to the United States from Puerto Rico before 1940 shared common experiences concerning the family-work interface. These experiences were molded by the precapitalist society and by the transition to an agrarian capitalism in Puerto Rico. The children of these first-generation migrants, however, were socialized in the United States. Consequently, their expectations regarding the family-work interface were molded by the advanced industrial

capitalist society of the United States. The differences in how these two generations experienced the interaction between family and work are the basis of possible family conflict. These differences affect the family structural organization, the family life cycle, and the emotional life of the family. Since the experiences of the first generation migrants are so important, it is necessary to understand the features of precapitalist which provided the context for these experiences.

Precapitalist and Agrarian Capitalist Society in Puerto Rico

Precapitalist society in Puerto Rico can be loosely categorized as feudal (Garcia, 1973; Quintero-Rivera, 1976). The dominant features of the productive system were an organization based on control of the land the domination of the labor force.

The precapitalist system disappeared as a dominant social system at the beginning of the 20th century. Nevertheless, important cultural and economic features of the precapitalist system remained in Puerto Rican society until 1940. Some of these features were incorporated as part of the Puerto Rican national culture. In addition, traditional patterns of the precapitalist society persisted during the subsequent stage of agrarian capitalism because they were econimically advantageous. For example, this practice was seen in some areas where coffee is

produced (Wolf, 1966).[11]

Another important change occurred in Puerto Rico during 1940. A massive effort, Operation Bootstrap, was undertaken to industrialize Puerto Rico. This industrialization program transformed Puerto Rican society so that experiences of the family-work interface were qualitatively different after the program began.

Family and Work Patterns of Precapitalist Society in Puerto Rico

The first generation migrants of the families observed in this study were influenced, in varying degrees, by Puerto Rico's precapitalist society and by the emerging pattersn which were typical of an agrarian capitalist society.[12] These precapitalist patterns are in marked contrast to those associated with the dominant economic and cultural system in the United States. Some of the features of precapitalist society have already been described. It is also important to understand the role of the "Hacienda." The "Hacienda" system determined and organized the neighborhood. It affected the types of ideas people used to understand their everyday life, family

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[11]In most areas where coffee is produced, the traditional sharecropping arrangement is disappearing. It has been maintained, however, in "communities where crops other than coffee are becoming additional cash crops. In these communities the owner is willing to continue the sharecropping arrangement of the past, because the part-time farming of his workers increases his own profits" (Wolf, 1966, p. 173).

[12]Agrarian capitalism was later replaced by advanced monopolistic capitalism (i.e., pharmaceutical companies). This has produced an interest-

life, work, and personal identity. The "Hacienda" system regulated, through social norms and interactions, the boundaries between the community, family, work and individual.

In the "Hacienda" system, the administrator was the owner of the land and resided in the "Hacienda." Workers were allowed to farm the land, although they did not own it. They were paid with tokens which could be exchanged for goods at the "Hacienda" store. The relationship between the workers and the hacendado did not involve money, but only the exchange of services and work for the use of the land. This social organization meant that the work, community, and family shared the same space and time. This fusion of community, work and family is the central characteristic of the "Hacienda" system. This fusion affected the community, work and family life. (These consequences are discussed in detail later in this chapter and as part of the subsequent chapter.)

The relationship between the "hacendado" and the workers was complementary and hierarchical. The hacendado was at the top of the community life and determined the worker's status. The hacendado could pay an unannounced visit to any household on his land. The workers were not able to do the same with the hacendado, however. Nevertheless, it was necessary to maintain good relationships with the workers because the Puerto Rican "Haciendas" were relatively

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ing paradox, since Puerto Rican workers in the United States interact with a less advanced form of capitalism (i.e., the small capitalism seen in industries such as the garment industry) (Bonilla and Campo, 1981).

small and the hacendados resided in the Hacienda. The ideal self of the hacendado incorporated the values of being respected, admired and loved. The relationship between the hacendados and the workers was maintained through a set of mutual services and ritualistic institutions like "compadrazgo" (ritual co-parenthood).

Community life was closely linked with work. The transition between work time and leisure time was determined by the crops, and religious festivities generally occurred around harvest time. The precapitalist system also affected other features of the society. Due to the "hacendado"-worker relationship, social mobility was virtually nonexistent. Consequently manual work was considered a curse because it did not lead to increased economic status. Since work had limited value, people believed that work should be followed by leisure time. Solidarity between extended family and friends was also highly valued since it provided insurance against starvation during the frequent difficult economic periods.

The most important characteristic of family life and work was that these two realms were fused. Family life and work shared the same time and space. The entire family participated in the productive process, since the parents worked in the same place their children played. The status of work as an ecological schema oriented around the child was, therefore, that of a mesosystem. For these children, work and play were undifferentiated. These children learned job skills at the same time they were playing. Ruth Benedict (1938) describes as

similar work organization in other non-industrial societies:

> We think of the child as wanting to play and the adult as having to work, but in many societies the mother takes the baby daily in her shawl or carrying net to the garden or to gather roots, and adult labor is seen, even in infancy, from the pleasant security of its position in close contact with mother. When the child can run about, it accompanies its parents still, doing tasks which are essential and yet suited to its powers, and its dichotomy between work and play is not different from that its parents recognize; namely, the distinction between the busy day and the free evening. The tasks it is asked to perform are graded to its powers, and its elders wait quietly by, not offering to do the task in the child's place (p. 162).

It is important to describe the "Hacienda" system's effects on the individual. Within the "Hacienda" system, individual identity was imbued with a sense of dignity:

> Dignity (dignidad) is the pinnacle of a positive personal identity which is possible only to the degree that the person reaffirms and recognizes his personal belief in a particular ethic. In this context, respect is possible only to the degree that one recognizes other people's personal dignity...Following the code of honor or dignity is sufficient for a positive social personal identity...the traditional Puerto Rican has no doubts about himself, he knows himself to be sacrosanct in his worth as a person; his identity does not depend on what psychoanalytic theory calls for an aleoplastic identification where the environment is the sine qua non condition for attaining some degree of certainty about who he is. The traditional person may declare with Calderon de la Barca: "I am who I am" (Diaz-Royo, 1976, p. 2).

This social construction of the ideal self was very important to traditional Puerto Rican men. It provided a criterion for personal identity and social validation independent of economical hierarchical position.

Family, Neighborhood and Work Patterns in Capitalist Society

The principal mesosystems for adults in capitalist society are work, family and neighborhood. In general, these three systems do not share the same time and space. Consequently, life is quite different than it is in precapitalist society. Time dedicated to each of these realms imply time taken from the other. In precapitalist society, leisure activities were determined by the work cycle and the entire neighborhood participated in these activities. In contrast, leisure is not associated with the work process in capitalist society. Leisure is a commodity produced by private interests and consumed by individual families. Solidarity in the work place in capitalist society is expressed through class organizations, such as unions and professional associations. This is quite different from precapitalist society where solidarity was expressed through the inclusion of extended family members and friends in the work setting and through institutions of ritual kinship (i.e., "compadrazgo").

A central characteristic of the relationship between family and work in capitalist society is that activities associated with these subsystems occur in different locations. The owners of the means of production (i.e., work settings) buy the workers' time in such a way that time dedicated to work is time taken from the family life. This practice affects the work-family interface. Piotrkowski (1979) has identified two major interface regions. One interface is between the

emotional life of the family and the external work organization. The second interface is between the non-paid household work system and the family's emotional life.

Another major difference between precapitalist and capitalist society is children's relationship to the work system. Children have little contact with the workplace. Consequently, in modern capitalist society, work functions as an exosystem for children (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Only when they reach adolescence are children introduced to the work world.

If the focus is shifted to the individual, a clear difference is seen between modern and traditional Puerto Ricans. The firm sense of identity and dignity described as characteristic of the traditional Puerto Rican in precapitalist society is endangered. The modern Puerto Rican is the product of an advanced capitalist consumer-oriented society:

> He suffers from a fathomless identity crisis in which, on having abandoned the values or the code of his predecessors, finds that, unlike traditional people, he cannot make the statement, "I am who I am." His particular situation can be called the weathervane syndrome. Not having even the minimum of certainty about how to be, he seeks in others the opinion that defines it, and fruitlessly thinks that identity is only possible when others, whether they be his elders or his peers, give him adequate signals. A hopeless passion, this. The others, even his peers, do not seem to be able to agree about how he should be and act. He falls into, then, the anguish of finding himself completely at the mercy of those around him (Diaz-Royo, 1976, p. 4).

The Effects of Work Structure on Family Structural Organization

The two patterns of work differentially affect the family structural organization (i.e., hierarchy, boundaries, and subsystem organization).

Hierarchy and family-work fusion

During precapitalist society, a fusion between family and work was created by the "Hacienda" society. The "Hacienda" was a clearly hierarchical social system. At the top of this social system was the hadendado, who could be considered a supreme father. The whole family had direct exposure to this authority figure. The hacienda social system organization reinforced the dominant position of men and the subordinate position of women. The larger social context of the hacienda legitimized the division of power in the family through role modeling and through the establishment of specific practices. For example, when the whole family was working in the field, it was supervised by the father in the family. In addition, payment for the family work was received and administered by the father.

The fusion of family and work meant that the father was always present when other family members worked. Therefore, the father was able to supervise other family members' work and was also able to demonstrate his skills and competence. Since children were in the work setting, their parents and other adults provided role models for

appropriate work behavior. These experiences enabled the children to learn behavior appropriate to their roles in the traditional society.

The early experiences in Puerto Rico that one participant in this study had with his father exemplify this socialization process.

> Don F. described in detail how close he was to his father. When he was a small boy, he was always following him around the farm, imitating everything he did. (F.W.4)

Don Fernando was very emotional while describing this experience. He talked about how much he admired his father and had always wanted to be like him. He avoided confronting his authority, not out of fear, but from admiration. This admiration grew from his early observations of his father's dedication and responsible behavior at work. Later in his life, Don Fernando's father managed to replicate part of the pre-capitalist experience by working side by side with other family members in a sugar cane field. In this setting, all the male members of the nuclear and extended family worked together on one task. Don Fernando's father led the family group in cutting cane in Puerto Rico. Don Fernando described how he avoided demonstrating that his physical strength was superior to that of his father.

The solid position of parental hierarchy in traditional society is demonstrated by both the admiration seen at an early age and the later care taken to avoid diminishing the father's hierarchical position. These themes are seen in the following interview segment:

D.F. My father taught me how to cut and I learned. Then, I worked with him.

Intervw. Are you saying there was a specific technique for cutting cane?

D.F. Yes, you have to do it right in order not to leave the stem out. That way the supervisor is pleased. That way, when the supervisor inspected the aisles of the cane sugar, the cane sugar was well cut. In that way it was easier for the workers picking up the cane. My father was the one who taught me that technique. I learned and I went out with him. I could do it better than him, but I never showed him.

My father, the family, my brother-in-law all worked together. My father and I always took the right side of the aisle. And we always left him the right side. And then I always followed him. They always left me in the corner with him because who is going to be more help to you than your father? When our work was further along we helped the others and in that way all of us finished together and in peace. Always, even if there was a lot of cane, my father was ahead of me and I never tried to pass him.

Intervw. Why?

D.F. Well, it did not feel O.K. to do that. I tried to be very near him, but I checked myself so that I wouldn't pass him. (F.W.9)

Another factor that maintained parental hierarchy in the family was the view of unemployment shared by members of precapitalist and agrarian capitalist society in Puerto Rico. This view of unemployment was embedded in the context of family-work-neighborhood fusion typical of precapitalist society and in the nature of seasonal

agricultural work of both precapitalist and agrarian capitalist society. In these contexts, unemployment was experienced directly by the whole family and neighborhood. It was seen as the natural result of the productive cycle. The two stages of the cycle were even named: "la vida" (the life) for the productive stage of the cycle and "tiempo muerto" (dead time) for the unemployment part. Since the family had first-hand experience with the production process, the father was not stigmatized as the one who had failed. Since all families in the neighborhood were unemployed at the same time, unemployment did not affect men's status.

In summary, five factors associated with a family-work-neighborhood fusion pattern also reinforce the father's hierarchical position in the family. First, the hacendado provided a role model for the father's hierarchical position. Second, the father was able to directly supervise the family's work. Third, the father controlled work distribution. Fourth, the accessibility of the work place made it possible for family members to observe his competence and leadership skills. Fifth, unemployment was a natural part of the agricultural cycle and the way community members understood unemployment reflects its social dynamic.

Hierarchy and Family Work Separation

In capitalist society, the work and family spheres are separated by time and space. Not surprisingly, family structural characteristics

are much different than they were in precapitalist society.

For two of the three families in the present study, there was a progressive shift in family-work patterns. These families experienced an intermediate stage between family-work fusion and separation within the context of agrarian capitalism in Puerto Rico. When these families migrated to the United States, a complete separation of family and work space occurred. During this progressive shift (i.e., from family-work fusion, to an intermediate stage, to a complete separation), several important changes occurred in the family hierarchical organization.

During the intermediate stage between fusion and separation, women's role in the neighborhood showed a hierarchical shift. In the sugar producing communities, men were separated from the household and worked eight to twelve hours a day. At that time, child labor laws had just been extended to Puerto Rico. Women and children, consequently, were not allowed to work in the cane fields. As a result, men lost control of the family work. Women assumed the responsibility of supervising and coordinating marginal economy production; such marginal economy was important for family survival, especially during the dead season. Since men were separated from the family-marginal economy setting, women had the opportunity to demonstrate competency. Consequently, they improved their social status in the community. These families' reports of socially acceptable behavior for women in the sugar communities (agrarian capitalism), compared to coffee

producing communities (precapitalist), demonstrates this role change. In the sugar producing communities women were allowed to visit freely in the neighborhood. The wife was allowed to speak to other men in the street without arousing suspicions or jealousy. In neither the tobacco or coffee communities were women permitted such "liberties".

One example of this pattern is Don Fernando's family. Don Fernando first worked under a "sharecropping" arrangement in the center of the island. These "sharecropping" arrangments tended to mimic previous precapitalist economic organization. For example, the economic transaction was not in money, but in the interchange of the privilege to farm for part of the crop. During this time, Don Fernando worked for his father. His mother also worked in the plot. Father was always directing the family work.

When Don Fernando turned 12-years-old, his family moved to the south coast of Puerto Rico to work in a sugar cane colony. In this new context, Don Fernando had to wait two additional years to obtain special permission from the mayor in order to work as a water boy in the sugar cane field. Mother (Doña Maria), in this new context, was the only administrator of a small production of eggs and chickens that helped the family income. Doña Maria had then to interact with anybody in the neighborhood interested in buying eggs or chickens. Doña Maria revealed in a private conversation that she managed to keep part of the profit. She managed to have some money under her supervision. With this money she bought necessary things for herself, the house, or for occasional movies for the children.

It is not until the family moves to the United States that Dona Maria had her first job in a factory. This job implied a new experience for her, working outside of her household. This was possible because Don Fernando brought his mother to take care of the children. In Springfield, Dona Maria showed a more amplified set of activities that did not necessarily involve her husband. Dona Maria directed several church services and visited the neighborhood without the supervision of Don Fernando. In doing so, she showed considerable independence from her husband. This independence was not possible in the context of the precapitalist arrangement of "sharecropping."

The most serious disruptions in the family-work patterns occurred when the families in this study migrated to the United States. In the United States these three families had to deal with a complete separation of the family and the work world.

Migration also had a profound effect on the families' hierarchical organization. Several factors were instrumental in changing the hierarchy: the man was unable to control the family work. Consequently, he was not able to show his competence and leadership skills to his children. In addition, this situation contributed to the family's ignorance of the father's working conditions. Unemployment was no longer a neighborhood phenomena associated with personal characteristics. The hierarchy was also changed because women had more access to jobs and welfare assistance. In addition, different family members varied in the extent they were able to take advantage of available resources in the new country. The first three factors transformed the

hierarchical position of the fathers observed in this study. The last factor caused a change in the role of the "hermano mayor" (older brother).

In two of the three families observed, the fathers were having difficulties with their hierarchical position in the family. In the first family, Don Gervasio complained that his children did not understand the sacrifices he had to make for the family. Don Gervasio is presently disabled because of back problems. He also overcame an alcohol problem two years ago. Both his back problems and his alcoholism were related to his work. The following transcription demonstrates the relationship:

> In that factory, only a few men stayed. The ones that stayed had to use whiskey. Drinking was the only way of being able to take it. I did not drink before working in that factory. I had to drink because it was too much. You know the gloves froze, the metal sheets froze and the factory was without heat. Then, when they opened the doors for the trailers, cold wind would enter the place. And, I had to continue working. If not, who was going to pay for the food of the family? I had to carry the metal sheets. Then I strained my back. And I got a hernia. The only way to work in that place was with the booze. (F-W 25)

Don Gervasio worked in a metal foundry. The working conditions were extremely dangerous. He had to carry heavy metal sheets. During the winter there was no heat in the factory and the metal sheets were very cold. In order to prevent rusting, these metal sheets were soaked in an oily liquid that was also very cold during the winter. Worker's gloves and clothes continuously were soaked and sometimes were even

frozen.

Don Gervasio's children did not have first-hand experience of the working conditions that contributed to Don Gervasio's problems. This ignorance of their father's working conditions resulted from the separation of family and work which often occurs in a capitalist society. For this family the father's work setting was a mysterious realm. In marked contrast to the familiarity family members in both precapitalist and agrarian capitalist society had with the work setting, this family's only first-hand experience with the father was as someone who was sick and alcoholic.

The father felt the family blamed him for his condition. The emotional content of this situation was expressed in the father's behavior.

> Don Gervasio refused to rest when his children were at home. On several occasions when he was sick with a cold he did not go to bed because his children were present. When the observer asked him why, he explained that he didn't want to give his children a bad example. He said men are supposed to work and be responsible. (F-W, 36).

In the second family, the father was unemployed and the mother was working. The father had been laid off two years ago. Because of the separation of family and work spheres, the family members were ignorant about the dynamics of employment-unemployment. The systemic cause of unemployment in capitalist society are difficult for people to understand. Consequently, unemployment is very often perceived as an individual's fault.

give him his "pescozon".[13] Even when I am present he will do it. He never hears a bad word from me. If he hears one from them he asks them, "where did you learn that?" And that is enough. They will never say a bad word when he is around.

D.F. Wife ...a look is enough.

D.F. They have to respect him. I told them that the older brother has to be respected.

D.F. Wife Yes, they respect him.

The youngest children were obligated to act with "respeto" (respect) toward the older brother. Their behavior was supposed to convey their understanding of the oldest brother's hierarchical position. When Don Fernando said, "ya le deben un respeto, porque es el mayor" (they owe him respect because he is the older brother), he was talking about how the younger brothers should recognize the older brother's role.

In Don Fernando's family there was an open conflict between a younger brother and the older brother. The younger brother complained that he had achieved more than his older brother, but that he was not treated by other family members the way his brother was. The older brother complained that the younger one did not respect him. The

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[13]Blow on the head or neck with the hand.

younger brother did not give his brother the ceremonial recognition associated with his superior position in the family hierarchy.

This conflictual situation seems to be common in the migrant families in Springfield, MA. The younger brothers are the ones that benefit most from acculturation. They usually have received more education in American schools and know the language better. Consequently, they tend to be more prepared to take advantage of job opportunities. In Don Fernando's family, the younger brother had a considerably better job than the older brother. This was the basis of a family conflict. In this way, different positions in the work force produced a change in the family hierarchy.

The influence of the family-work interface on family hierarchical organization has been demonstrated. Different patterns of influence were identified. These families experienced three different patterns of interaction regarding family and work. The first pattern was found in precapitalist society in Puerto Rico. The second one was present in agrarian capitalist society in Puerto Rico. The third pattern was seen in the advanced induatrial capitalist society in the United States. The pattern of complete separation between family and work space, typical of advanced capitalist society, represents the greatest change from the experiences these three families had in Puerto Rico. For some families, migration to the United States did not only require them to interact with a new country, a new neighborhood, new customs and language; they also had to interact with a different organization of work. This change in work organi-

ation affected the family's hierarchical organization. It also produced conflicts that affected these families' emotional lives.

Family-Work Patterns and the Family Life Cycle

Family-work patterns also affect how a family member is introduced to the adult world and the work world. This introduction to the adult world and the productive process is an important transition that occurs within the context of the family developmental cycle.

A comparison between the experience of the first-generation migrants and their children demonstrates how different family-work patterns affected the family life cycle. The process by which work identity was established highlights these differences.[14]

The parent's experience

As noted above, the parents in the present study grew up in Puerto Rican neighborhoods where the work setting was a major scenario for family life. Both adults and children engaged in complementary reciprocal relationships regarding work. Children were in the work field with their parents at an early age. Their initial contact with work involved imitation and play in the work setting. Adults were careful not to expect too much from their children. Consequently, the children were allowed to experiment, make mistakes, and

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[14]The advanced capitalist system has a profound effect on the development of identity. Identity is established both at work and within the

In this family, the father became very religious after his unemployment. He and his family belong to a Pentecostal church. A constant family theme was that, according to God's plan, men are the heads of households. In this family, a religious belief was used as a functional strategy to maintain the father's hierarchical position at the time when it was threatened by role failure. The father felt particularly sad because his wife was the only one working at that moment. He dealt with his situation by reminding his wife that for fifteen years he was the family's only source of income. This situation also demonstrates how much the father's position in the family was threatened by his unemployed status. The unemployment situation is further complicated by the fact that there is less opportunity to work in a marginal economy in the United States. This situation will be discussed in more detail later.

Another visible change in the family hierarchical organization relates to the role of the "hermano mayor" (older brother) in the Don Fernando family. In traditional Puerto Rico, the older brother's role was an important one. The older brother was the father's representative when the father was not at home. The older brother was responsible for protecting the mother and the other children. An important part of the older brother's role was to administer discipline when the parents were not present. The following excerpt illustrates this point:

D.F. That son is very serious. If one of his younger brothers said a bad word in front of him, I know that he would

learn slowly by imitating their parents. One of the parents said:

> When I was eight or nine years old, I was always behind him (the father), with a little "machete" and with a little bag. He always allowed me to follow him. I was always behind him when he was in the "malangas."[15] (F-W 11).

Another parent said:

> In that system, we were always playing near the cows, chopping wood, picking up bananas and coffee. By five o'clock we used to play hide-and-go-seek. By eight o'clock we were sleeping and we would wake up at five in the morning. (F-W 6)

These children began establishing their work identity at a very early age. They were able to gradually accept work as part of life. The adults expected age-appropriate changes in the children's behavior at work. A measure of the child's increasing maturity was his increasing productivity and decreasing play in the work setting. If the child was able to increase this productive output, within age-appropriate standards, he began to develop a personal identity that was socially acceptable. A child who performed well at work was considered serious, trustworthy, and capable (Seda and Bonilla, 1959). In this traditional culture, the concept of "niño de capacidad" (a child of capability) contains several properties and virtues that

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family context. Identity involves the relationship between a person and his context (who I am in relation to my context). Identity is established at work as a person defines who she or he is in relation to the demands of participation in production.

[15]Malangas are a root that is edible like a potato.

relate to this early socialization in work. A child who did not fulfill his obligation was considered disobedient and "malcriado."

One of the families in this study demonstrated how identity was established through work. Don Fernando is the oldest of three brothers. He owns a house in Springfield, Massachusetts. He is known as a very responsible and capable man ("hombre de capacidad"). When his two brothers, Don Jaime and Don Ricardo, have a problem they ask for Don Fernando's help. Don Jaime never had a paying job and developed an identity of "being crazy," although a mental status examination did not reveal any thought disorder. His only achievements were weight lifting and playing the guitar at church. Don Ricardo had a history of drug abuse. He said his two marriages were both ruined by his irresponsible behavior. Although he works, he is unable to maintain a steady job. The observer was present in Don Fernando's household on at least three occasions when the central theme was the establishment of work identity.

A central theme in their conversation involved bitter complaints about their childhood. According to these two borthers, they were lost because their father did not force them to comply with their required job obligations during childhood. The identities these three brothers formed at an early age (i.e., five to ten) persisted throughout their lives. These identities developed in relation to their compliance or noncompliance with the work demands. For example, Don Fernando recalled his childhood work experience in this way:

> Long before I worked in the sugar colony, I was dedicated to work at my house. My father ordered me to do all the tasks that were proper for men (like always having the home supplied with firewood. In that time we cooked with wood). When I finished that task, I had to feed all the animals. When I finished, I had to work in the plot helping him to spread the seed, to prepare the soil. (F-W 10)

Don Fernando commented on how his brothers participated in the family's work:

> They were not dedicated to work because they were younger. When I was thirteen, they were eight. They were never dedicated. There is always one that takes better care of the father's tasks than the others. There is always one who has more responsibility. We were three brothers, but my father always told me what to do because I was older. I was more capable. (F-W 13)

Don Fernando's brothers were present during the conversation. They were visibly nervous and laughing. Every time that this sensitive topic regarding the establishment of an acceptable work identity was discussed, the level of agitation and noise in the room rose considerably, suggestive that the topic had much emotional impact.

The failure of these two brothers to achieve socially acceptable identities as capable men ("hombres de capacidad"), also affected the family's emotional climate.

When Don Fernando's two brothers left, he said this of one brother:

> Let's see, he is telling the truth. He did not work. He didn't pay attention to the family work. He was like an animal. He grew up more

> in the river and in the mountains, with no responsibility. It was here (in the United States) that he learned to play the guitar and lift weights. In Puerto Rico he was always playing in the river. The other one went to the plot only for a little while. He did not pay any attention to work. He was not responsible. (F-W 14)

Don Fernando's identity as a capable man started developing during childhood. His identity was formed at an early age as he successfully completed his assigned tasks. Don Jaime and Don Ricardo's identities were also formed at early ages. As children, they were considered irresponsible, lacking in good judgment, and not serious. These identities seemed to persist throughout their adult lives.

A complementary relationship existed between the brother's behavior and their father's behavior and expectations regarding their performance. The father demanded more responsible behavior from Don Fernando because he was the oldest brother. He constantly let Don Fernando know if his work met his expectations and praised him when his work was good. For example, Don Fernando recalled that when his father bought clothes for the family, he was the only one who went with his father to the town. He was the only one who was able to choose his own clothes. His father bought similar clothes for other family members.

The complementary behavior of the father in relation to both younger brothers was affected when the father began working in a sugar cane colony (during the period of agrarian capitalism). Since the family and work spaces were separated, the father was not present to

demand responsible behavior from the younger brothers. According to Don Fernando, when the father came in from the sugar cane field, he was so tired that he did not have the energy to demand work from them.[16] Both younger brothers bitterly complained about this situation. Don Fernando and his brothers were introduced to the work world in a much different way than most children in the United States are. In precapitalist society, children were introduced to work under their parent's guidance. This introduction began at an early age and was under the parent's control. This task was fairly easy for the parents, since they were preparing their children to fit into a social structure they knew.

In addition, the parents had specific behavioral criteria to measure whether their children were acquiring the social ideal of children of capability (i.e., less play, doing more work as they grew older).

This socialization process occurred within the context of a society in which family and work life evolved through the same space. In this study, the socialization experiences of the children in the United States were much different from the experiences that have been described for the parents.

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[16]This dynamic has been identified by Piotrkowski (1979) as one typical of family-work separation patterns. She called it "energy deficit."

The children's experience

When these three families migrated to the United States, they were exposed to a different pattern of family and work relationships. Children in the family were introduced in a different way to the work world. These differences between the parents' and their children's experiences affected the families' emotional life.

In modern capitalist society, people usually begin interacting with the work setting when the reach adolescence. Prior to this stage, there are few ways that the parents can teach work responsibility (i.e., household chores) and consequently, help the child develop a work identity.

There are several larger contextual issues that make the introduction of family members to work very different in the United States from the experiences the older generation had in Puerto Rico. These larger contextual practices are the separation between the family and work space, child labor laws, the social definition of adolescence, and the children's contact with other systems that operate using this social definition of adolescence.

When the families in the present study came to the United States, work and family spaces became totally separate. When two of the three families migrated to the United States, they experienced, for the first time, a complete separation of the family and work spaces. Neither the wife nor the children had direct access to the father's work setting. This situation affected the relationship between the father and his children.

In the United States, the children of these migrant families were not allowed to work. They were protected by Federal Child Labor Laws.[17] In the United States, work functioned as an exosystem for children. The adults and their children did not enter a reciprocal and complementary relationship regarding work.

The children in this study were introduced to work within the context of family-work space separation and were protected by child labor laws. Consequently, they began to work considerably later than their parents had. A look at the job histories of the 24 adolescents interviewed in this study showed that the majority had their first job when they were 16 to 19 years old (see Table 6).[18]

These children had a new role that their parents had not had. For an extended period of time, they were consumers of what their parents produced. This is in marked contrast with their parent's experiences, since their parents had been producers from the time they were about five years old.

Several consequences resulted from the new generation not having contact with the productive process at an early age. First, these children had difficulty understanding the economic problems of their parents. Some parents in this study openly complained about this

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[17]The child labor laws also applied to Puerto Rico. However, in Puerto Rico there were more settings where family labor continued (i.e., in the marginal economy, in the family plot). During the forties, these children were supposed to be in school. The school system was so chaotic that it did, however, not have the capacity to deliver services to all eligible children. Consequently, the bureaucratic organization did not force compliance with the child labor laws (Lewis, 1968).

[18]These 24 adolescents included the families observed by participant observers and those who were additionally observed by an assistant researcher: Eddie Santana.

TABLE 6

AGE WHEN FIRST JOB OBTAINED

Age in years	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Number of young people working	1	9	7	2	2	0	0	1	1	1

situation. They said that their children were more demanding and had difficulty accepting their family's economic limitations. They also said their children were "malcriados" (uneducated). These findings are similar to those of Elder (1974) who desdribed the children of the Great Depression. In both situations, children who worked from an early age had a better sense of their parent's economic contributions.

Another consequences of the separation between family space and work space was that parents lost control of their children's work socialization. The parents were not direct role models for their children. In addition, the parents were not able to monitor their children's progress in the work place toward the ideal of being capable people. Of the 24 adolescents from whom job histories were obtained, only two had worked in a context where their parents were role models and supervised their progress toward the ideal of capability. These two were employed in their family's store. When the investigator inquired about their status in the neighborhood, not surprisingly people said that these children were model children.

Another important influence appeared when these families migrated to the United States. American society defined adolescence differently. The term adolescence emcompassed the biological changes which make sexual and reproductive activity possible; a search for intimate relationships with peers; upheaval, rebellion and behavioral contradictions; the introduction into adult roles and obligations (especially in late adolescence); the development of work or vocational

identity; and, in middle and upper classes, a moratorium during which the young person can experiemnt, rebel and wander around. (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 1, 1968.)

Being an adolescent in the United States is quite different from what the parents in this study experienced as they were growing up. For the parents, being young had not involved upheaval, rebellion, behavioral contradictions, or the opportunity to experiment and wander around. For them, being young was the time when they had the opportunity to demonstrate that they were capable and responsible people. By the time they were teenagers, they were expected to behave as adults and had already worked for a long time.

In contrast, the young people in this study grew up in a society which had much different expectations of adolescents. At school, these young people interacted with other North American peers, teachers and youth advocates. As a result of these interactions, they had a very different view of adolescence than their parents did.

These four factors (i.e., the separation between family and work space, child labor laws, society's definition of adolescence, and contact with people who reinforced this definition of adolescence) meant that children in this study began working at a later age than their parents. As a result of this change, a stage in the family life cycle was created which had not existed for the parents.

These differences between the parent's and children's experiences affected the family's emotional life. The difficulties associated with the family emotional life can be best understood as a problem of

recognition. Recognition is knowing again (Cherry, 1957). Two essential aspects of recognition are past experiences and the present context (Cherry, 1957). Both determine whether recognition occurs. For example, a man can recognize friends' faces when they are in a crowd. However, he may have difficulty recognizing his mother's photograph if the picture is presented upwide-down, if the upside-down view has not been part of his previous experience.

In a similar way, being young in this society seems "upside-down" to the parents. Two generations have had such different experiences, particularly with regard to the development of work identity, that they have trouble recognizing the values of each other's experiences. The parents in this study, when they were young, did not experience a stage similar to adolescence. Consequently, they are not able to recognize their children's experience in this society. Conversely, the young children have not had the experiences typical of traditional society. Consequently, they are not able to recognize their parent's demands as syntonic. The lack of recognition of the other's experiences produces an intergenerational conflict which is verbalized in expressions such as "eso es jibaro,"[19] "de ostros tiempos" (from another time), "rancio" (rot), and "las cosas cambian" (things change).

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[19]Jibaros. At present used to signify a Puerto Rican peasant. Some historians insist on the Arawak origin of the term. Also a way of being and characteristic of the Puerto Rican; to be timid and distrustful (Diaz-Royo, 1974, p. 303).

Another source of conflict has to do with youth unemployment. According to the Spanish American Union (S.A.U., 1977-78), the unemployment rate in Springfield was 48 percent during 1977-78 for men under 25 years old. This means that almost half of the young men were not able to fulfill the ideal of being men of capability. If the parents of these unemployed young men were socialized in traditional society, they expect work to begin at an early age (six to ten). The inability of acquire a job at an even later age (16 to 24), contributes to the family's sense of despair and uncertainty about the future.

In the traditional society in Puerto Rico, even young men who were not formally employed were able to fulfill the ideal of capability of being involved in the marginal economy (i.e., working in the family plot, producing fire wood, bootlegging rum, fishing, catching crabs, raising pigs). In the urban environment of Springfield, few comparable communities existed. Nevertheless, some young people managed to sell beer, organize cockfights, parties, and even to raise pigs. However, these activities were limited because police intervened as soon as they became aware of the situation.

The high level of youth unemployment and the lack of opportunities in the marginal economy increased the emotional conflicts produced by the failure of family members to recognize each other's experiences. The parents are unable to recognize an early identification through work in their children. In addition, their immediate experiences tells them that their children are unable to hold jobs even when they are adults. As a result of these factors, the parents acuse

their children of being irresponsible. The young people then acuse their parents of being rigid, overprotective, and too demanding.

In conclusion, the relationship between parents and their children regarding work identity is a strained one. For Puerto Rican migrant families in the United States there is a clash between two sets of demands and expectations. Parents expect compliance with traditional values, especially around the establishment of a work identity. Yet, the children expect to be treated as their North American peers are. This conflict is exacerbated by contextual dynamics (i.e., the separation of family and work settings, high rate of unemployment, different societal definitions of adolescence).

Summary

The interface between the families in this study and the work system was discussed in this chapter. Three different societal contexts of family-work interactions were described. These were the precapitalist, agrarian capitalist, and capitalist contexts. The ways in which the structural characteristics of the family hierarchy were affected by each of these societal contexts was also discussed.

The effects of these societal contexts on the family developmental cycle were also described. To provide a more detailed picture, the effects on a specific family developmental task, the introduction of an adolescent to work, were also presented.

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY AND LARGER SYSTEMS

Introduction

When the migrants in this study came to the United States, they entered new interaction systems. These systems can be classified as mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems. The previous chapter discussed the effects of the family-work mesosystem on the family hierarchical organization, the family life developmental cycle, and the family's emotional life.

In this chapter, the effects on the family of the family-neighborhood mesosystem and the family-welfare mesosystem will be discussed. The experiences of the families in the neighborhood (i.e., with the extended family, friends, the gangs, and formal institutions such as the church) were observed. These interactions affected the hierarchical organization, the life developmental cycle, and the emotional life of the family.

The next section in this chapter describes the interactions in the family-welfare mesosystem. The focus of this section is on how these interactions influenced the hierarchical organization of the families studied by the observers.

In addition to the mesosystems observed, one exosystem is also analyzed. This system is the Springfield English language media. An

exosystem consists "of one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in that setting" (Bronfenbrener, 1979, p. 237).

A content analysis of Springfield newspapers over a given period identified a specific pattern of news publication regarding the Puerto Rican population. This pattern can be explained in terms of the interaction between the newspaper as a product of consumption and the population that consumes that product. The exosystem's possible effects on the public image of the Puerto Rican population in Springfield are noted.

The effects on the families of a macrosystem are also discussed. This macrosystem concerns the "ideological set of ideas and practices regarding a minority status." This macrosystem is analyzed in terms of the coherence it provides to the migrants' experiences in their interactions with several micro-, meso-, and exosystems. An understanding of the migrants' experiences can be conveyed by an examination of these different system levels.

Family-Neighborhood Mesosystem and Family Hierarchy

The Catholic and Pentecostal churches were two formal institutions in the neighborhood. All three families in this study were religious to some degree.

Don Fernando's family was Pentecostal. Don Fernando had attended ministry school and his wife had actually been ordained as a minister. All their children were raised in the Pentocostal religion. However, the ones who were married no longer attended church.

Don Gervasio's family was Catholic. Doña Carmen went to church every Sunday with her daughters. Don Gervasio also went, but not every Sunday. Both Don Gervasio and Doña Ramona participated actively in church educational activities. For example, they went to three spiritual retreats. These retreats lasted the whole weekend and consisted of religious discussion regarding marital life and family life.

Don Ramon was spiritualist and Doña Consuelo was Catholic, although she rarely attended church.

In two of these families, the interactions between the church and the family affected the family's hierarchical organization.

In Don Fernando's family, one Pentecostal religious idea (i.e., that the man is the head of the household) was used as a strategy for coping with Don Fernando's unemployment without changing his hierarchical position in the family. The participant observer noticed at least seven occasions when religious teachings concerning the man's position in the hierarchy were discussed. In these conversations, the religious prescription of the "role of the father as head of the household" was mentioned in the context of defining who was making the decisions at home . On one of these occasions, Doña Maria openly asserted that even when her husband was not working, her duty as a

Christian was to respect him and to accept his authority as the head of the household. She felt this way because it was God's plan. Don Fernando also commented in the conversation that his family's love and fear of God kept it united. He also pointed out that other families in the neighborhood were not able to maintain a united family when confronted with this test of God (i.e., the unemployment of the head of the household). As soon as the father failed to provide economically, conflicts began between the wife and husband with regard to the issue of who was in charge. According to both Don Fernando and Doña Maria, this was the perfect setting for the devil to do his work.

The experiences of Don Gervasio and his wife Doña Carmen with the Catholic church are the opposite of Don Fernando's experiences with the Pentecostal church. The Catholic church tried actively to encourage a symmetrical relationship between husband and wife. Don Gervasio and his wife participated in regular religious marital retreats. The following excerpt of an interview describes these activities:

> They talk about "machismo." That it should not exist. Men should help their wives. To the one that I went there were forty-five couples from Springfield. All Puerto Ricans. They remarried. They repeated the marriage vows. They talked about how to raise children. (F-N 51)

By prescribing more equal roles between husband and wife, the Catholic church was providing support for the wives' demands of more equal participation in household tasks. In this family the wife, Doña Carmen,

used this religious support in her favor. This family reported five occasions in their marriage when Dona Carmen asked a male member of the church to talk with Don Gervasio regarding a marital issue. One of these issues was a more equitable division of household work. Don Gervasio did participate more in household work after this peer pressure. The male members who Doña Carmen convinced to talk to her husband were Don Gervasio's closest friends. One of them, Don Toni, is a compadre (a ritual kin member). Don Gervasio respected him and acknowledged his influence on this family issue.

Through these mechanisms, the Catholic church was instrumental in changing the family's hierarchical organization. Both Don Gervasio and Doña Carmen said that after these interventions a more democratic style of family management developed. In this way the Catholic church affected this family's hierarchical organization. But, at the same time, this change was possible because it was advocated by one of the closer and most respected friends of Don Gervasio.

From these families' experiences, it is clear that the family's interactions with religious organization varried. The Catholic church used its prestige in the community to modify the family hierarchy. In contrast, the Pentecostal church tended to maintain the traditional positions in the family hierarchy.

Family Life Developmental Cycle and the Family-Neighborhood Mesosystem

The interactions between the family and the neighborhood affected the family life developmental cycle. In the families in this study, three patterns were observed. These patterns related to general identity, work identity, and to young men's social relations outside the family.

Mesosystem family-neighborhood and identity

Some young people in the neighborhood used a group (the gang) to establish their identities. During the course of the study, a gang (the "Demonstrators") was observed. Gang members had their own uniforms (i.e., denim jackets painted with devil faces and the Puerto Rican flagg, red handkerchiefs). The gang members moved around in the Melrose End neighborhood in groups and considered the community as their territory. In the community studied, there were three large gangs that were involved both in social activity and criminality.

Identity was defined for this study as "who I am in relation to my context." For these youths, gang membership was a context for defining their identity and was an important source of personal identity. They insisted on wearing their uniform and tended to remain in groups, rather than mixing with other community members. Belonging to a gang provided these young men and women with one of the few opportunities they had to establish an identity. They were unable to establish an identity as a participant member in the community through working or through

training (i.e., school, vocational school). Consequently, they define themselves in terms of gang membership. They received recognition from the community. The residents were terrified and were angry with them, the gang was blamed for much of what went wrong in the community. This recognition was important; even though it was negative, it confirmed their identities.

Family-neighborhood mesosystem and work identity

Parents in the study were afraid of what gang members and drug pushers represented to their children, in that young people could get discouraged with work since they could not earn enough by working to buy things that the drug pushers had without working. According to the parents, these young men had little incentive to work since the ones who did not work were better off than the ones who did. One parent in the study commented:

> There is a problem when the young man does not work but has money because of drugs. Then, the ones who work and does not have money says: how come that one has everything without working and I work and have nothing. (F-W 40).

These young men's experiences in the neighborhood did not reinforce their desire to work. Since their motivation to work was decreased, the task of establishing the self at work was more difficult. Both the parent's fears and the young people's experiences affected the processes of launching adolescents and establishing work identity. This is exemplified by the comment of a family with an adolescent. Don Gervasio: "When they go out at night, we do not sleep" (F-N 45).

Since the parents were scared of the world outside the family, their adolescent children's interactions with the world occurred in a context of fear and distrust. As a result of these fears, parents actively tried to keep their adolescents at a time when they needed to go out. This situation was exacerbated by the young people's experience with the gangs. Since criminal activity was present in the neighborhood, parents were afraid of the influence of this negative role modeling. If these young people began to perceive criminal activity to be more rewarding than working, they would not be motivated to work. Consequently, it would be difficult to form a work identity or to be launched into society.

The neighborhood also influenced how these families dealt with the young men's interactions with the community at large. These three families were afraid to let their children go to parties at night because of criminal and gang activity. In order for a young person to develop he must experiment and eventually master interactions with the world outside the family, and this extension into the world was impossible, given the family and neighborhood constraints.

Summary

Clearly the family-neighborhood mesosystem had an effect on the family developmental cycle. Three patterns were identified; first, the primary source of identification for many young people was their membership in the gangs; second, gang activity interfered with the establish-

ment of work identity; and third, gang activity and resulting parental concerns interfered with the task of introducing a young person to the world.

Family-Neighborhood Mesosystem and the Family Emotional Life

The influence of the family-neighborhood mesosystem was evident in the family's emotional life. Several groups and institutions were identified as sources of either support or stress. The support sources contributed to a positive emotional carry-over. A pattern of positive carry-over is described by Piotrkowski (1979):

> The pattern of positive carry-over was evident in the Turner Family. Ezra Turner derives a sense of esteem and identity from his work, and this personal gratification is made available to the family system through his ability to initiate warm and interested interactions and to respond positive to other family members. His availability "charges" family members, and he, in turn, is charged by them, thus establishing a "positive" cycle of interaction. He is a force for gathering family members together. Knowledge of this pattern is useful in giving us a sense of what is possible in the interchange between work and family systems. (p.61)

A similar pattern can be used to describe similar interactions between the neighborhood and family systems.

The stress sources contributed to emotional "negative carry-over" or to "energy deficit" emotional patterns into the family. The pattern of emotional "negative carry-over" was described by Piotrkowski (1979) in reference to the interface of the family-work system:

> Negative carry-over, a more common pattern among research participants, was illustrated in the description of the Johnson family. Because of work overload and job role conflicts, Henry Johnson's job is a source of psychological strain that he tries to manage by "worrying." In this way, job-related stress is brought into the home space. We see here how personal attempts to manage work-related strain can cause tension within the family. Not only is Henry sometimes unavailable to respond to Betty's concerns, but at times he responds irritably to the children. Family members must expend their personal resources to create the space Henry needs to recuperate and manage his feelings. (p. 61)

An "energy deficit" emotional pattern is characterized by a person who is interpersonally unavailable to significant others. This person feels empty of emotional "energy" because of the characteristics of his interactions with the work system (or with other larger systems) (Piotrkowski, 1979).

Many groups and institutions either created support or stress for the families in the present study. These groups included the extended family, friends, churches, and gangs. The effects on the family will be described.

Extended family and family's emotional life

Migration results in the loss of extended family support systems. However, there is a tendency, after more people from the migrant group arrives, to reproduce the same patterns of relationships among family and friends at the place of adoption. "A social network is generally established in the ethnic neighborhood after approximately five years" (Falicov and Karrer, 1980, 385).

These networks are a source of support and mutual help. For the families in this study, one of the most important sources of support was the extended family. Friends and churches made up a larger support system for these families. Taken together, these groups constituted a private welfare system.[20] In the three families studied in participant observation, the author observed this support system. For example, in Don Fernando's case, his father helped him buy his first house. Don Fernando's father sold his house in Puerto Rico and with that money provided a small down payment and the lawyer's fees. Don Fernando, in turn, has supported other extended family members. He helped his brother to buy his first car and found work for his nephew. In addition, his house was always open to any of his married children and their spouses (a total of six). His wife, Doña Maria, always cooked more on the days before payday because other family members often did not have enough food then. In turn, these in-laws reciprocated with services (i.e., they painted Don Fernando's house, rapaired his car, cleaned the backyard).

A somewhat different situation existed for Don Gervasio. He did not have family in Springfield, Massachusetts. However, he was identified as a support person for his wife's family. His wife, Doña Carmen, had her mother and father, three sisters and two brothers living

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[20]Hesse-Biber (1979) studied the Italian ethnic ghetto as a private welfare system. A similar pattern of a private welfare was evident in these families.

nearby. Every week Don Gervasio took his mother-in-law shopping. In addition, he gave his brothers-in-law advice regarding the use of agencies and services (i.e., how to sell a car). He lent money when he had it. He was the one who went to different offices demanding services for extended family members (I.e., welfare, services from a community agency).

In the third case, a biological extended family was not present. Don Ramon did not have extended family members in Springfield. Neither did his wife, Doña Consuelo. Nevertheless, Don Ramon was an important resource person for friends and neighbors. These examples clarify the role of the extended family system. The extended support system was a cushion against difficulties and stresses associated with the everyday life of impoverished people. This support system created a positive emotional carry-over in the family by reassuring members that other family members would always help when life was difficult. Doña Maria and Don Fernando even had a name for this pattern of mutual help among extended family members: "el seguro social de los pobres" (the social security of the poor).

The extended family members and friends could also be a liability, however. A study of migration from Pakistan to England demonstrates this: Traditional support systems were strengthened in order to facilitate the transition and adjustment to England. These systems were supportive in the short run but could also be sources of stress (Khan, 1979). Similar results occurred when Mexicans migrated to the United States. The extended family sometimes interfered with the

process of acculturation since dependence on family and friends reduced the need for new friends and institutions (Falicov and Karrer, 1980).

For the families in this study, the extended family network had several negative effects. First, a family member who was considered strong and capable sometimes "burned out" while trying to meet other family member's needs. Second, there was a lack of symmetry in the support given to husband's and wive's families. Third, the extended family created conflict when its demands were in direct opposition to those of the nuclear family. In all three families observed there was one person usually identified by the extended family (or by the extended cohesion family) as a strong and capable person. In the three families, this person had a better understanding of how American society functioned (i.e., a better knowledge of object use, the rules that govern agencies, English).

Don Gervasio was identified as a capable person. He took Doña Carmen's mother and father to the bank every month to cash a social security check. He helped the mother open a bank account so that the bank would cash her checks. He took her to any office where she needed to go. Any contact with non-Puerto Ricans was made through Don Gervasio. Don Gervasio served the same function for other members of the "extended cohesion" family, although the involvement varried. Don Gervasio complained several times during the participant observation period that everybody was using him to resolve their problems. He felt very angry about this, but also felt obligated to comply with the

traditional rule of helping the family. This situation affected the general emotional climate of his family. In particular, it affected the relationship between husband and wife. This pattern can be classified as a "negative carry-over" from the neighborhood to the family. Several times he complained of being too tired and sick. Being sick seemed to be the only way for him to escape obligations to other family members. This pattern can be classified as "energy deficit."

In Don Gervasio's family the situation was further aggravated. There was a lack of symmetry between the support given to members of the husband's family and wife's family. A network map of the two families demonstrates this pattern: Doña Carmen had several members of her nuclear family nearby. Her mother, father, and an adolescent brother resided in one household. Doña Carmen's three sisters and a brother lived in four additional apartments (each with their respective families). In contrast, all the members of Don Gervasio's extended family lived in Puerto Rico or in New York. Don Gervasio complained that he had to take care of his wife's family, but was unable to help his own family.

Contradictory demands between the nuclear and extended family also produced conflict. This conflict was evident between the younger generation and the older one. For example, one of Don Fernando's married sons experienced a conflict between the demands of his wife, who was young and a Puerto Rican from New York, and the demands of his extended family. According to Don Fernando, his son's wife complained every time

he lent money to a family member. On one occasion the observer went with Don Fernando and Dona Maria wo their son's home. The situation was tense. They talked in monosyllables and the conversation was short. When the author asked Don Fernando about the tension, he explained that his son's wife was different because she did not pay attention to the family. In addition, she hardly visited them or any other of her husband's brothers. Don Fernando excused her because she was raised in New York and consequently did not know how to relate to the family.

Additional evidence supported Don Fernando's view of the situation. When the observer asked Don Fernando's son about this behavior, he complained that his wife did not feel it was necessary for him to help his family or origin. She complained that they had enough problems and debts. For example, they bought new furniture for the living room and dining room. This couple had distanced themselves from the rest of the family. They lived outside of the ethnic neighborhood in a suburban area of Springfield. The conflict between the nuclear and the extended family's demands may account for this. For the nuclear household of Don Fernando's son (in a process of upward mobility), the extended family represents an economic liability. He works in the Springfield post office and earns around $22,000 a year. He and his wife do not currently perceive a need for an extended network of support. Instead, other extended family members rely on them for support. Don Fernando's son participates in this support network out of his loyalty to his family of origin. His loyalty is

so great that he participates at the risk of creating conflict with his wife.

Friends and the family's emotional life

Friends are another important group in the family-neighborhood mesosystem. The public sphere in the Springfield community was highly segregated by sex. The author was only able to observe male groups of friends. Consequently the following comments apply only to those groups.

The participant observer observed 26 group interactions among men in the neighborhood during a six-month period. Some of these interactions were as simple as going to buy a quart of milk in the "colmadito de la esquina" (the street corner grocery store). The observer noticed that in this "colmadito" there was a tendency for men to "hang around" talking and joking. Whenever the participant went to this "colmadito" with Don Gervasio or Don Ramon, they socialized for thirty or forty-five minutes. Don Ramon liked to talk about his complaints to the building administration and his negotiations with them. In addition, he once talked about how he called the police when the building's boiler was broken. The police came out and woke up the building's administrator and forced him to repair the boiler immediately.

After Don Ramon showed his competence by relating incidents such as this one, other members of the group try to put him down by making jokes. These jokes were very well planned so that they never showed a "lack of respect." These jokes were followed by a collective recog-

nition of Don Ramon's accomplishments. This pattern repeated itself with Don Ramon at least six times.

This sequence produced "an emotional positive carry-over" from the neighborhood to the family. The interactions observed in this study between the fathers and some of their friends resulted in an increased sense of well being. These fathers, in turn, were able to bring these emotions into the family. For example, every time Don Ramon came back from the grocery store, he bought candies for the children and he was obviously in a good mood.

The father's sense of well being resulted from the process of identity validation. Identity was validated by following the rule of "Respeto" (respect). In mutual and reciprocal interactions. Through these interactions the participants conveyed to each other that they were men of integrity, complete men (hombres completos) whose work was never doubted, respected men (de respeto), model citizens, stern fathers and husbands, and men who walked with their heads up (Seda-Bonilla, 1958). This experience was similar to what occurred in their communities of origin in Puerto Rico.[21]

Not all the interactions between friends and family are a source of "positive carry-over" into the family. One group of friends are known

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[21]These men were unable to receive this validation (of respect) in the work setting. The other American workers did not have the same experiences regarding interactions among men. For example, one man revealed that a fight occurred with American workers because of a misunderstanding concerning the issue of respect.

as "amigos de bebida" (drinking friends). According to some of those interviewed, an "amigo de bebida" is someone who is your friend when there is beer available. However, he will not be around if you need help. Don Gervasio expressed the viewpoint that these interactions left the person with the feeling that he was being used. He also recalled how his association with these "amigos de debida" produced marital difficulties. When he came back, he always fought with his wife about his misuse of family resources. The situation improved when Don Gervasio was able to stop drinking, with the help of his friends in the Catholic church. He complained that none of his drinking friends visit him now that he no longer drinks.

Formal institutions and the emotional life of the family

Some formal institutions were part of the family-neighborhood mesosystem (i.e., the Pentocostal church). The Pentecostal church was basically a neighborhood group and was part of a mutual help network. The church, through its members, provided information regarding available jobs. It also provided job and apartment references for members and provided the locations of available apartments. It provided translation services for people who did not know English. The church also provided furniture and clothing if emergencies arose. Don Fernando was part of this network. For example, a church member lived in Don Fernando's home for a year because she had economic difficulties when she first migrated to Springfield from New York. This support network was part of an indigenous welfare system that provided security to the families involved. It was a source of support that resulted in

a "positive emotional carry-over" to the family. The families in need knew they could rely on the church in an emergency.

The Pentecostal church also provided emotional support to its members. One example of this support was "el culto de enfermos" (services for the sick). The participant observer was able to observe one of these services:

> In the apartment there were ten women, two children, and four men. One woman explained what the purpose of the service was. The service was for a sister who wanted them to pray for her because she was ill. Cries of "Alleluia" and "Glory to God" began after the information (about the service's purpose) was given to them. The continued with the playing of guitars and other instruments. The event was a joyful and lively event. A passage from the Bible was read to the group. Then members of the group stood and shared their encounters with God and the miracles He had performed for them. After this, the brothers and sisters laid their hands on the ill women and they implored God to make a miracle happen that day. Then two women went into the room and put sacred oil on the woman's feet (the woman had a foot problem). Then a younger woman shouted at the sick one, "get up and walk, sister, have confidence and faith in the Lord." Three women helped her to walk around in front of the group. After this, they sang hymns and one woman said, "I have faith that the sister is going to be cured because when she was walking I touched her knee and felt her bones moving." Immediately everybody began to scream, "Allelulia, glory to God." When the service ended, the sick sister asserted that she already felt better and that with God's help she was going to be cured. (F-N 57)

This example clearly describes an emotional positive carry-over from a neighborhood to the family. Don Fernando reported that the church had at least three "cultos de enfermos" a week.

These churches also produced a "negative emotional carry-over" to to the family. The church's emphasis on membership sometimes created conflict. One member of the community (a key informer) talked about

how the Jehovah's Witnesses church produced tension and emotional pain in his family. Two of his sisters became Jehovah's Witnesses. Jehovah's Witnesses are supposed to participate only in religious festivities held at the church. Once these women converted, they did not participate in family parties. Their whole lives revolved around church activities. The two married sisters did not participate in celebrations of the extended family (i.e., Mother's Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas). During these celebrations, the whole extended family was together except for the two sisters. Both the mother and the sisters were reportedly hurt by this situation. The mother felt abandoned and depressed. The two sisters felt pulled by the demands of two different institutions, the family and the church. This is an example of how the interaction between formal institutions and the family resulted in "negative carry-over" for various family members.

Gangs and the emotional life of the family

The gangs seemed to be an overwhelming reality in the community. During the observation period, families reported 19 incidents with gang members. Table 7 contains descriptions of some of these incidents. Negative emotional carry-over patterns resulted from the families' interactions with the gangs. People were afraid of the gangs and angry with them. In some of the families, interactions with the gangs involved symmetrical escalation patterns. For example, the gang did something to provoke Don Gervasio. Then, Don Gervasio responded strongly to the gangs. The gangs then retaliated with a strong action against Don Gervasio. This pattern repeated again and again and

TABLE 7

GANG ACTIVITIES

Incident	Description
1	Two policemen follow a gang member into Don Ramon's apartment. One of the stepsons of Don Ramon opens the door to the gang member in order to hide him from the police. The police break down the door and run into the apartment. Both the stepson and gang member escape through the back door. (Don Ramon's older stepson is also a gang member.)
2	Don Jaime went to the hospital for a week. When he came back, gang members had stolen everything in the apartment, including a color T.V. and a radio.
3	Two gang members die in a fight. One was 17 years old and the other was 19. The body of the latter was found on the back porch of Don Ramon's apartment.
4	During a car accident, two women were injured. They went to call for help. When they returned to the car, the gang had already stolen the car battery, the radio, and two tires.
5	A person who was being beaten by the gan was given refuge in Don Jaime's home. The next day a bomb exploded in Don Jaime's window.
6	A 16-year-old insulted Don Ramon and put a gun in his face.
7	A gang member stole a gold chain, a present from Don Ramon's sister, from his house. Don Ramon is convinced that his stepson is directly involved in this incident.
8	Don Gervasio's color T.V. was stolen.
9	Gang members destroyed the car of a man who complained of excessive noises late at night.

continued to escalate. With other community members, the interaction with the gangs tended to be a more "complementary" pattern. In this case, the gang used threatening tactics to intimidate community members. Thus, gang members were more powerful than community members in their mutual interactions. (One of the families observed in this study, Don Gervasio's, moved back to Puerto Rico because of gang activity.)

Both Don Gervasio and Don Ramon had problems related to gang activity. The gang had their unofficial headquarters in the building in which they both lived. During the cold season the gang members were always "hanging around" on the stairs and in two abandoned apartments in the same building. Consequently, Don Gervasio did not permit his three daughters to be out in the street. Family members were also afraid that objects would be stolen while they did errands outside of the apartment. On one occasion, Don Gervasio's color T.V. was stolen. He knew that gang members had done this.

Don Gervasio's two adolescent daughters reacted angrily to their father's refusal to allow them out on the street or in the neighborhood. This situation clearly affected interactions between the father and the children in this family. This conflict was observed by the participant observer on two occasions.

Dona Carmen (Don Gervasio's wife) described another incident that illustrates the effects of the gang activity on the family's emotional life:

> Last summer that gang (Demonstrators) was on the roof of the Dairy King (an ice cream store) with rifles. They laid down on the roof. It looked like war. They were waiting for the other gang to pass by so they could

> shoot at them. And when the other gang passed by, you heard the shooting. I was very scared. One bullet broke a window in the next door apartment. For several months I was so scared that we threw the beds on the floor to sleep. Just in case. If a bullet came in, the floor was less dangerous. (F-N 9)

Don Gervasio described another incident that affected his family:

> I had to go to Wesson Memorial Hospital because I was shaking. They put a bomb in the next door apartment window. There was glass all over. The window frame came out. And the floor cracked in the other apartment. It was not my apartment. It was in a neighbor's home. They put it outside of the window. This is a gang fight. The old man in the apartment hid a man the gang was looking for. These criminals did not care that there were children in the building. (F-N 1)

This incident occurred two weeks before the participant observer stayed at Don Gervasio's home. During the week the author stayed with the family, the following behavior was observed:

> At night, Don Gervasio and Dona Carmen are watching T.V. Don Gervasio goes to the window every 20 minutes. He looks to see if something is happening. If he hears any noise, he jumps from his chair. He, his wife, and their family are in constant tension. (F-N 20)

After the bomb incident, Don Gervasio and Dona Carmen decided to return to Puerto Rico. Three months later they moved. The reasons for this decision were made explicit in the following excerpt:

> I'd better go to Puerto Rico. This is going from bad to worse. Before I kill one. If I had a rifle I would fix those bandits and the problem would be resolved. My brother-in-law is looking for them with a gun and he is crazy. Why are they doing this? I'd better to with my family to Puerto Rico. There I can live in peace on a mountain. (F-N 21)

In all of the families in this study there was a clear pattern of emotional "negative carry-over" from the gang activity in the neighborhood to the family. The constant presence of the gang in the immediate neighborhood limited the activities of Don Gervasio's daughters. It also created conflict between the daughters and parents concerning autonomy. The incidents involving stealing, gang war, and the bombs led to a fearful and anxious emotional state in both this family and that of Don Ramon. These patterns show how the interface between the gangs in the neighborhood and the families in this study produced emotional "negative carry-over' into the families' lives.

Family and Welfare Systems

The situation of the Puerto Rican population in the United States in general, and in Springfield in particular, is characterized by chronic unemployment, under-employment, and marginality (Spanish American Union, 1977-78; Bonilla and Campos, 1981; United States Civil Rights Commission, 1978; Martinez, 1983).[22,23] This type of economic situation

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[22]Under-employment refers to the type of employment Puerto Ricans have. The Puerto Rican worker is found usually in less skilled jobs (i.e., agricultural labor work, domestic work, menial labor, labor intensive industries). These workers tend to be non-skilled and easily replaced depending on variations in the productive cycle. This type of non-technical employment is growing at a very slow pace in the United States and is declining in the areas where more Puerto Ricans are concentrated, such as the New England area (Bonilla and Campos, 1982).

[23]Marginality refers to a special kind of position in the economic structure. A marginal worker is one who is unemployed and will probably never be employed. These people constitute a fairly permanent underclass.

has several consequences: poverty, a state of constant recession, a constant crisis in everyday life, declining living standards, and forced migration.

> In general, minority persons are still three times as likely to be in poverty than white persons...For example, in 1975, 25.1 percent of all Spanish-speaking and 27.1 percent of all black families were poor as compared to 7.7 percent of all white families (Thomas, 1978, p. 81).

If minority persons are three times more likely to be at the poverty level than a white person, it is expected that more of them will participate in the public aid welfare system. Statistics support this view. In 1980, 9,900 families received food stamps in Springfield. For the whole group of 9,900, most of the recipients are Blacks or Hispanics. Less than 40 percent in Springfield are white. Here is a breakdown: 37 percent or approximately 3,700 whites; 25 percent or approximately 2,500 Hispanics; 28 percent or approximately 2,800 Blacks (Springfield Sunday Republican, 1980, p. 8).

If the proportion of Hispanics at the poverty level in Springfield, Massachusetts for 1980 is similar to the proportion of Hispanics at the poverty level in the United States during 1975 (25.1 percent), then 5,000 people should receive welfare in Springfield. Nevertheless, statistics show that in 1980, only 2,500 Hispanics received food stamps. The phenomena of lower participation in welfare programs than expected (as determined by the poverty level) has also been documented for Puerto Ricans in New York.

> Given the low incomes, high unemployment, and insecure jobs held by Puerto Ricans, we would expect to see an extremely high rate of welfare recipients among the Puerto Rican population in New York. In fact, it is not as high as might be expected given the parameters of Puerto Rican poverty. In 1970, 30 percent of Puerto Rican families in New York were on welfare; that is, fully 70 percent were completely self-supporting. Of those families eligible for welfare, that is, with incomes less than poverty level, only 56 percent were on welfare (Centro, 1979, p. 215).

These data refute the popular concern that Puerto Ricans migrate to the United States in order to go on welfare. On the contrary, being on welfare is criticized by the Puerto Rican community in Springfield. The following discussion by Don Fernando clarifies this attitude:

> I always said, "I will never go on welfare." And everybody commented, "you have eleven children." And I had to buy them clothes, shoes, books, etc...But I did it. It was true that I had to kill myself. And she (his wife) also helped me. And I always said, "we are not going on welfare, because these children are going to learn from us. And that will not help them be good workers. Maybe when they finished school, they see their parents on welfare, they will go and lie in the office and fool the welfare people. And they will be like bandits." Because welfare money is not good money. You did not work for it. The most beautiful thing is the good money that you work for. (F-W 3)

There are also at least two additional interactional patterns that maintain Puerto Rican participation in the welfare system at a rate lower than expected. These patterns relate to a set of discouraging practices in the system and to an indigenous welfare system at the neighborhood level.

Several students, who were observing a community agency, were able to accompany people to the welfare office and act as translators. These

students described the harsh treatment they observed. Also, Don Ramon (the head of one of the families observed) worked during 1955 as an interpreter in the welfare system. Don Ramon commented:

> I didn't like that job. I like to help my people, but I had to quit (welfare job) because of the questions they asked those families. They were ugly questions. If it was a woman with children, they asked if she lived alone, if she had a hidden boyfriend. And they made her feel bad. And sometimes they sent an inspector to check at two or three in the morning. I like to help the Hispanic, but what they did to those people showed a lack of respect. (F-W 10)

The neighborhood indigenous welfare system was described in detail in the previous section on the family-neighborhood mesosystem.

The welfare-family mesosystem and the family hierarchical organization

The welfare-family mesosystem affected the family's hierarchical organization. Two patterns of problems were identified by all three families. The first related to the regulations regarding eligibility in the "Aid to Families with Dependent Children" (A.F.D.C.) program. The second pattern related to regulations concerning financial help for adolescents living at home.

In 1980, clients in the A.F.D.C. program received an average of $379.30. During this year, 7,888 individuals received money through this program (Springfield Sunday Republican, 1980, p. 8). If the Puerto Rican participation rate in this program is similar to the rate in the food stamps program (25 percent), then there were 1,972 Puerto Rican clients participating in this program during 1980.

In order for a family to receive help from the A.F.D.C. program, the client had to be single (usually a woman) and in need of help taking care of her children. The participants in this study (the three families observed at home) said that people in the community believe that a man will not receive help at the welfare office. Don Ramon said:

> The husband worked either in a factory or in the tobacco. He had a salary, but it wasn't enough to cover the family's necessities. Then he went to ask for help and at the welfare office they told him, "to tell you the truth, we cannot help you." They told him that he was making one hundred and two dollars. And that he could sustain his family with that. Then he did this: he stayed in the tobacco and sent his wife to welfare. There she said, "my husband abandoned me, I am alone with all these kids." The same day she got a check for clothes, food, for furniture. They gave it to the woman, but to the man who went with the truth, they denied it. (F-W 17)

Some families, in order to get the help they felt they needed, resorted to strategies that lowered the men's hierarchical position in the household. For example, either the father moved out to another family household or stayed at home maintaining a low public profile (hiding).

> The first thing they do is that the husband takes her to welfare. And when they go with the husband, welfare will not help them. I know of friends, and even in the welfare offices they told her, "why don't you say that your husband left you?" They gave her a good check. But she had to lie to get it. (F-W 23)

Another participant described the position men were put in the families when an inspector came at two or three in the morning:

> Then, when the people from welfare came to investigate her, they had to hide the husband in the closet. I would never permit that. They searched and found him in the closet. They found him and his clothes. Then that man lost honor and respect. (F-W 16)

Usually it was the wife who received economic aid. A check would come to her name and she did not need her husband's signature to cash it:

> If in that marriage there are five children, then the woman is going to receive a very good check. That check is going to pay for her rent and they also give her food stamps. (F-W 22)

When a woman receives a check in her name, the wife becomes more autonomous with respect to her husband. She does not need him now to survive. This, in turn, creates the scenario for a shift in the hierarchy.

> Now, who is the one boss in that home? The boss is the welfare. When the man tries to give orders at home, she (the wife) already knows in her heart, and also other women have told her, that he does not have to give any more orders. When the husband says something, she says..."eh, eh, eh, don't say a word, because you can not give an order here. The boss here is the government. The government is the one that sustains my children." And he has to shut up to avoid going to jail because officially he is not living in that home. (F-W 22)

These behavior patterns create shifts in the wife's and husband's relative positions in the family hierarchy. According to the parents in the study and to the two key informers, this shift occurs in a substantial number of cases.

The family hierarchy was also affected by the regulations concerning financial aid to adolescents living at home. In Don Ramon's

family, the two stepsons were receiving monthly checks through the A.F.D.C. program. These two children were adolescents who still lived at home. They had not reached the required age for termination from the program. These checks came directly to them under their names. This situation did not help Don Ramon and his wife control their children's behavior. Regardless of their behavior, these children were able to cash their checks and use the money for whatever they wanted. One of them spent the money on drinks, clothes and marijuana instead of contributing to the household (according to Don Ramon). This practice helped the children to challenge the parental hierarchy and the parent's authority.

Summary

The first part of Chapter VI focused on how two larger mesosystems affected the family hierarchical organization: the family developmental cycle and the family emotional life. These two larger mesosystems are family-neighborhood and family-welfare.

The family hierarchy was affected in different ways by two neighborhood institutions (the Catholic and Pentecostal churches). The Catholic church tended to advocate a symmetrical relationship between the husband and wife. The Pentecostal church advocated a more traditional position in the family hierarchy (i.e., man is the head of the household).

The mesosystem family-welfare also affected the family hierarchy because of the way the welfare program was implemented.

The family life developmental cycle was affected through three patterns. First, the primary source of identification for many young people was their membership in the gangs. Second, gang activity interfered with the establishment of work identity. Third, gang activity and resulting parental concerns interfered with the task of introducing a young person to the world.

The family emotional life was also affected through the interactions of these families with different neighborhood groups. Patterns of positive and negative emotional carry-over from the neighborhood to the family were identified.

Systems which operated at a higher level also affected the family's functioning. The next section will discuss the impact of the media.

The Springfield English Language Media Exosystem

The media-North American population in Springfield exosystem also had a profound effect on society and family life. The term "media" includes those public and private institutions that involve communication (i.e., movies, T.V., books, advertisements, newspapers). Media can create ideology. Ideology "is the reserve of signs used to rationalize class domination, signs prescribed by the requirement that they must function for a system whose bases they mask. If they did not have this character, they would reveal the mystification employed by the class which dictates what is real and objective" (Mattelart, 1978, p. 17). Most of the media images of minorities in the United States are

ideological. This has been documented for the Black population (Leab, 1976; Bogle, 1974). The situation is similar for Puerto Ricans. Films produced in Hollywood portray Puerto Ricans in stereotypical ways. In "West Side Story," "Batch 373," "Fort Apache the Bronx," and "The Possession of Joel Delaney," Puerto Ricans are presented as criminals, prostitutes, drug pushers and uncivilized people who believe in voodoo and strange rites.

The media portrayal of Puerto Ricans was a concern for the participants in this study. This preoccupation with the Puerto Rican media image was a recurrent theme in different conversations throughout the community. There was a generalized perception in the Puerto Rican community that T.V., movies and newspapers did not portray Puerto Ricans in a positive way. For example, Don Gervasio commented:

> What is bad here is that if a Puerto Rican does something wrong, it is immediately on the front page of the paper. But, when we do something good, you don't see it anywhere. (E 52)

To determine what information the general public receives about the Puerto Rican population, a content analysis was done on a sample of the newspapers published in Springfield, Massachusetts. Only 70 of 200 editions had an item related either to the Puerto Rican population or to the Hispanic population. In order to simplify the analysis, the news items were classified in only two categories, positive or negative. The positive category was defined as any news item that described the Puerto Rican population as participating in socially-approved activities (i.e., helping others, winning awards, participating in sports and musical events, receiving academic degrees,

demonstrating social responsibility). The negative category is defined as any news that shows the Puerto Rican population participating in activities that are not socially approved (i.e., any activity related to criminality or social dependency, such as people receiving welfare).

The distribution of news items by category and year is presented in Table 8. If this sample is a reliable measure of the population of published news, then Springfield residents were receiving more than twice as many negative news items as positive ones regarding the Puerto Rican population.

Analysis of the specific placement of the articles in the newspaper revealed another pattern. For this analysis, each newspaper was divided into 11 sections. Each of these sections corresponded to groups of five pages in the regular edition of the newspaper. Specifically, the first section included pages one to five, the second section included pages six to ten, the third section, pages eleven to fifteen, and so on, with the tenth section consisting of pages forty-six to fifty and the last section consisting of pages 51 and beyond.

The assumption underlying this division was that the first pages are generally the most important in a newspaper. (This was corroborated by the cost of advertising on these pages.) The distribution of positive and negative news per page group is presented in Table 9.

If this is a reliable measure, then a disproportionate number of negative news items (12 to 1) appears on the first five pages. This pattern is the same for the next two five-page sections. The rest of

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS ITEMS BY

CATEGORY AND YEAR

Year	Category	
	Positive	Negative
1972	3	2
1973	2	3
1974	2	1
1975	0	2
1976	2	1
1977	2	7
1978	2	2
1979	2	7
1980	3	11
1981	3	13
TOTAL	21	49

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE NEWS ITEMS PER GROUP OF PAGES

Section	Pages	Positive	Negative
1	1-5	1	12
2	6-10	3	12
3	11-15	5	14
4	16-20	5	6
5	21-25	1	2
6	26-30	2	1
7	31-35	0	1
8	36-40	1	0
9	41-45	0	0
10	46-50	1	1
11	51 and over	0	1

the sections contained approximately equal numbers of negative and positive news items about the Puerto Rican population.

Since the positive news items about the Puerto Rican population tended to be in the last pages of the newspapers, these positive news items were probably not read by most of the general public. The negative items, which tended to be concentrated near the front of the newspaper, dealt with criminality, drug abuse, gang-related activities, and welfare dependency.

The type and location of these items in the Springfield newspapers probably perpetuated the negative stereotype of the Puerto Rican population. Some of the basic themes associated with this stereotype are the following: Puerto Ricans are impoverished because they are lazy or inferior; they do not work hard or do not work at all; Puerto Ricans have problems because they refuse to be assimilated; they insist on talking Spanish. Behind all these ideological themes, there is a common pattern identified in the literature as "blaming the victim (Ryan, 1979).

There are specific sociological practices that can account for these patterns. A principal one has to do with marketing policies of the newspaper industry. The newspaper industry is convinced that the public is more interested in reading criminal news than news about how well a community is functioning. This affects the type of newspaper coverage given to community activities. Every month the Puerto Rican population of Springfield participated in activities that could receive media attention. However, as a result of marketing policies, the

criminal activities obtain a disproportionate amount of media attention. The newspaper industry thus helps maintain the stereotype of Puerto Ricans. Bagdikian (1968) summarizes these patterns:

> The dominant force in mass entertainment is attention-getting for commercial profit. A major technique for fixing the attention of maximum audiences, like the scare headline, is violence...For a long time, news, like mass entertainment, used violence, preferably sexual violence, as an attention-getting device. Crime news is exciting. It is inexpensive. It generally comes through easy channels, like the police and the courts, the latter information having the added advantage of being libel proof...In the North, the use of crime news for attention-getting is largely a function of competition. The more competition among newspapers in a city, the more sensationalized crime news. The more street sales, as compared to home delivery, the higher the incidence of scare headlines to catch the eye. Local newspaper competition is dying and exists in only 60 of the 1,500 cities with daily papers, and in only 15 of these is there competition during the same hours of the day. Similarly, home delivery is becoming the prevailing pattern and street sales less important, as competition dies and readers move to the suburbs. But it may be significant in a minor way that the worst ghettos are in those big cities where there exists the remaining newspaper competition and sidewalk-sale battles (p. 14-15).

In summary, a content analysis of 200 newspaper editions reveals that the Springfield public received a disproportionate number of negative images of the Puerto Rican population.

Such presentations reinforce or develop stereotypes of the Puerto Rican population. In the absence of first-hand experience, North Americans judge the Puerto Rican population according to stereotypes presented in the media, and media images of Puerto Ricans probably have a substantial impact on the type of interactions that occur between Puerto Ricans and North Americans.

Family and Macrosystem

The effects of mesosystems and exosystems have been described. The third level of analysis is the macrosystem. This general system also had profound effects on the families observed in this study.

In this study, several macrosystemic patterns were identified. Some were brought as prescribed maps of interactions from the society of origin. Others were experienced by the migrant for the first time when he arrived in his adopted country.

One macrosystemic pattern relates to Puerto Ricans as a minority and as a racial group. This is a macrosystem because it provides consistency in the form and content of interactions through several micro-, meso-, and exosystems. The macrosystem encompasses the ideas that:

1. Puerto Ricans are poor because they are inferior, due to their own shortcomings.

2. Puerto Ricans do not work hard or do not want to work hard.

3. Puerto Ricans have problems because they do not assimilate; they insist on talking in Spanish.

4. Puerto Ricans are poor because they lack strong family bonds. Consequently they do not have adequate role models that help develop a sense of achievement.

5. Puerto Ricans are culturally deprived because they grew up in a "culture of poverty."

6. Puerto Ricans are delinquents and thieves.

Variations of these themes have been applied to most immigrants coming to this country (i.e., Irish, Jews, Italians, East Europeans). They have also been applied to Blacks who were brought to this country in chains to do forced labor. These ideas are ideological myths and are not based on sociological observations. They are ideological myths because they obscure the source of the problem. They explain the visible misery of the new migrants by blaming them (Ryan, 1979). The myth successfully transforms a social problem of unequal opportunities into a problem of individual motivation or character.

Reflections of these iedological myths were seen in the interactions represented at the levels of the microsystem, mesosystem, and exosystem.

At the microsystem level, the observer noticed that Don Gervasio sent contradictory messages to his younger children regarding the values of education. One message was an open and explicit exhortation to study because education is the only way to escape poverty. The accompanying message conveyed, however, a pessimism that any attempts to improve one's situation would fail. This pessimism is expressed in turn by a certain conformity by Don Gervasio's children to the parents expectations in terms of lower than average grades.

The ideological myths also operated at the mesosystem level. In the mesosystem family school, the following patterns were observed both by a key informer and in discussion in the observed families. As in the parent-child interactions, interactions between parents and school also involved double messages. The teachers said the parents needed

to be involved at school in order to help their children be successful academically. Nevertheless, when the parents tried to be involved, they were frustrated. This situation is clarified by Don Gervasio's description of an incident that occurred at school:

> One of my girls left school because she did not want to use short pants for gym. The teacher said she had to or else he would give her a bad grade. So she decided to leave school during her first year of high school. I went to talk with the teacher, but he did not understand how things are here (refering to the family). So she started being absent during gym days. She told him (the teacher) that it was because of her religion. She also said that even if she was not religious, she did not like to wear shorts. And the teacher gave her bad grades. And she was crying and crying and told me that she was not going back to the school. I went again to talk to the teacher and I told him, "If you told her to cut her hair and I did not give her permission, then you should not order her to do it." She (the daughter) defended her rights and said, "I won't wear shorts I did not come to school to play. I came to study and if you want to, give me a bad grade, o.k.,... I won't wear shorts so that everybody sees my body." She never had cut her hair, she never wore pants, always a skirt. The problem was resolved since there was a law to allow her to leave school. To avoid problems she left school and stayed at home helping her mother. After that the same teacher had a problem with two more of my children. This time the principal changed their room because it was obvious that it was the teacher. (F-M 10)

On this occasion, a parent was trying to be involved in his child's education but was frustrated by the intransigence of the school system. For the teacher, the school regulation was more important than the education of the child.

Don Gervasio reported that the teacher screamed at him and told him that Puerto Ricans always want special treatment. He was so

offended that he decided not to go to the school any more. The teacher participated in the ideological myth "Puerto Ricans do not integrate themselves." This myth shaped his reaction to the child. In turn, Don Fernando's lack of knowledge about his civil rights did not help him resolve this situation in a favorable way for his family.

The key informers also reported that, in general, teachers are perceived by the parents more as adversaries than as partners in the children's education. According to one key informer, Puerto Ricans are viewed as participants in a "culture of poverty." Teachers believe they depend on welfare to survive. The teachers felt this culture was responsible for the low performance of the children and that these children were unable to learn. The idea that Puerto Rican children are culturally deprived is a construct. A construct is a concept that a person uses to categorize events and guide his behavior (Kelly, 1955). This ideological construct guided the behaviors of these teachers in the classroom in a way similar to a self-fulfilling prophecy. The teachers do not demand excellence from these students. Consequently, the children produced the minimum. This lower-than-average production, in turn, confirms the teachers' ideological construct.

These ideological constructs about Puerto Ricans also permeated the interactions family members had with North Americans at the boundaries of the ethnic neighborhood. The members of this community had limited interactions with North Americans. The interactions occurred either in stores at the boundaries of the neighborhood, or

through specialized institutions (i.e., hospitals, offices). Most of these interactions could be classified as conflictual. The degree of conflict experienced seemed related to the community member's skin color. These interactions resulted in negative emotional carry-over to the family. The degree of negativity, however, was related to the perceived importance of the interaction. For example, a racist remark by a grocery clerk did not have the same impact as a racist remark by a doctor in an emergency room. The following given incidents illustrate the kinds of interactions that occurred between community members and North Americans:

> That night we went to MacDonalds. When inside, Don Gervasio began to talk about how uncomfortable he felt with North Americans. He then asked for eight fish filet sandwiches. The cashier made him repeat this five times. It seems that she thought Don Gervasio did not understand English. (F-N 21)

On another occasion, Don Fernando took his smallest daughter to the hospital. When she was in the emergency room, he explained to the doctor that his daughter had asthma. The doctor began to laugh in his face, telling him that he did not go to medical school. This doctor then threw them out of the emergency room. Don Fernando went to another hospital and the child was treated for asthma there. These two incidents (at MacDonalds and the hospital) exemplify the interactions that often occurred between Puerto Ricans and Americans in the city of Springfield.

The extent of the prejudice against Puerto Ricans has been measured by other researchers. Wright (1978) studied the prejudices and biases

of prospective jurors in Springfield. The study measured attitudes towards Blacks, Puerto Ricans, defendents, and police. Four hundred people were surveyed and several conclusions were reached:

> There is much more prejudice in Hampden County towards Puerto Ricans than exists towards Blacks. Between approximately one-fifth and three-quarters of the eligible jury population of Hampden County can thus be said to embrace attitudes of prejudice towards Puerto Ricans. Summarising the item-by-item responses: Slightly more than one-fifth of the sample "would feel better" if their own children did not have to go to school with Puerto Rican children. Between 40% and 50% doubt that Puerto Rican children are taught to respect the law as much as other children. A substantial majority of nearly three-fifths disagrees with the statement that "Puerto Ricans are no more likely to commit crimes than white people." And finally, large majorites of 70% or more agree that the presence of Puerto Rican families in a neighborhood "will drive down real estate values" and that Hispanics should be "required to speak English in public places." Also, about half the sample, for example, agreed that "Blacks and Puerto Ricans have ruined the quality of life in Springfield," and of those who did agree with this, about 85% said that Puerto Ricans were "responsible." Also, about 80% of the sample disagreed with the statement that, "most Puerto Ricans on welfare roles deserve to be there." The general patterns revealed in the data are, therefore, as follows: First, there appears to be a rather widespread belief that Puerto Ricans are more likely to commit crimes or be generally disrespectful of the law than other people. Were such beliefs to persist in the courtroom situation, they would seemingly amount to an <u>a priori</u> tendency to assume guilt on the part of Puerto Rican defendents. (P 4)

This prejudice is a macrosystemic pattern that affects the interactions that the families in this study experienced with other systems.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The main focus of this study has been on how families were affected by migration from Puerto Rico to the United States. This broad topic encompassed three themes: how the family hierarchy, the family developmental cycle, and the family's emotional life were affected by the migratory experience.

Two major influences on the migrants' experiences were identified. The first was the influence of larger social systems that exist in the country of adoption. The second was the similarities and differences between the society of origin and the society of adoption. These two influences were discussed in detail in the previous chapters. However, these influences were discussed as though they affected each family independently. In reality, this was not the case. This chapter will focus on the situation as a whole rather than being limited to a description of the component parts.

First, the pattern of influences on the family hierarchical organization, the family's developmental cycle task (i.e., introducing a person to the work world), and the family's emotional life will be described. Then the representativeness of the patterns identified in the study will be discussed. Finally, the study's relationship to research priorities and its implications for mental health issues will be considered.

Family Hierarchical Organization

The shift in the hierarchical organization of some Puerto Rican families has been documented in the study. The emotional consequences of this shift have also been described. Contributing influences are found at all levels of analysis, from macrosystem to microsystem.

At the macrosystemic level, cultural values are important. In Puerto Rico, these migrants valued the man's role as the family provider. At the microsystem level (i.e., the involving individual and his family), this cultural value was internalized by the individual man as a personal role and by his family as an expectation. These macrosystemic values, personal roles, and family expectations were brought by the migrants to the society of adoption. Once these people migrated from Puerto Rico to the United States, however, they began to interact with the macrosystemic patterns of a different society. For example, they found themselves in a macrosystemic context of diminishing economic opportunity.[24]

The effects of the failure to achieve the prescribed cultural role and family expectations can be understood in the context of additional macrosystems. First, unlike the situation in Puerto Rico, family, work, and neighborhood in the United States were sharply separated. Consequently, family members no longer had first-hand knowledge of

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[24]Unemployment for Puerto Rican males is 31 to 50 percent, depending on the age group.

employment-unemployment patterns such as those associated with the harvest cycle in Puerto Rico. In the United States, migrants worked in an advanced capitalist system where they were not able to identify systemic causes of unemployment easily.

The macrosystemic patterns of the employment cycle and of individualistic orientations in American capitalism can help in understanding the process of self-blame that results from unemployment. Traditional Puerto Rican role values stressed the importance of the father being employed and being the provider for the family. However, the macrosystem (diminishing economic opportunities) made unemployment probable, and for reasons not easily understood by the man or his family. The adoption of the ideological value of individualism increased the probability of the emergence of a pattern of self-blame in the unemployed male. The unemployed man is blamed both by the family and the man, himself.

The unemployment situation is exacerbated by the welfare system. An examination of the family-welfare mesosystem suggests that the A.F.D.C. program is biased against men. The implicit message is that if a man is unemployed, it is because he is lazy or irresponsible. The social problem of unemployment is again presented as an individual motivational problem. The family-welfare mesosystem serves to produce a shift in the family hierarchy by making program acceptance conditional on the father's absence and by sending the check to the mother. As a result of these pressures, the balance of positions in the marital hierarchy may be radically changed and marital strife may result. In

fact, the participants in this study identified the welfare system as one of the principal causes of the marital separations occurring among the Puerto Rican families in Springfield.

In addition to increased marital discord, unemployment can result in drinking problems. According to Santana (1979), one-third of the Puerto Rican adult males in Springfield are alcoholics. This outcome is related to the systemic interactions previously described. However, the number of alcoholics in the Puerto Rican community further reinforces the idea that individuals, rather than societal systems, are responsible for the situation.

Family Developmental Cycle

A systemic analysis enables one to understand the difficulties that the families had with the task of introducing a younger member into the work world. This task is accomplished in the context of several macrosystems, mesosystems and microsystems. At the macrosystemic level, it became clear that the timing for this task was altered in the new society. In the agrarian (both the precapitalist and the agrarian capitalist) society of Puerto Rico, the young family member was introduced to work at an early age. However, in the advanced capitalist society of the United States, introduction to the work world was posponed until adolescence.

The introduction into the work world was made more difficult by separation between family and work space, by diminishing job opportunities for young people, and by an ideological system of racism. As

a result of the macrosystemic complete separation of family and work space, parents were no longer able to monitor their children's progress toward the culturally prescribed ideal of becoming persons of capability and to help them establish a work identity. The problem of establishing a work identity was increased by the very high macrosystemic unemployment rate for teenagers and young adults (55 to 57 percent). Consequently, both these young people and their parents were anxious about whether they would be able to fulfill the role of men of capability.

The other macrosystem that affected the establishment of work identity was the ideological system of racism. The young people of this study complained that the treatment they received at the factories was racist. They had the worst jobs and worst working conditions. In addition, these young men felt insulted at the factory. When they were with other Puerto Ricans, the rule of "respeto" (respect) governed their interactions. Everybody knew that jokes and confrontations should be kept below a certain limit, because otherwise the jokes could escalate into a serious confrontation. In the work setting, however, the situation was different. They worked with Americans who may have been able to tolerate greater levels of tension in jokes and confrontations. Puerto Ricans, accustomed to the rules of "respeto", may become angry or defensive in dealing with the higher level tension in jokes and confrontations. The anger or defensiveness is perceived by American workers within a context that has been fostered by North American media exosystems described in the previous chapter. Thus, the

Americans fit their experiences into the available stereotyped image of what Puerto Ricans are like, and they are unlikely to metacommunicate with the Puerto Ricans about the context of their interactions. The Americans don't say, "Look, I am interested in Puerto Rican culture. I want to learn how I should relate to you so that I don't offend you." If this type of conversation took place, tension limits could be discussed and the Puerto Ricans would not need to be as defensive. It is possible that prejudice has less to do with an attitude of "I don't like Puerto Ricans and I am going to make life miserable for them" than with problem of understanding what behavior patterns are acceptable.

Additionally, the capitalist macrosystem makes it difficult for people to try to understand what is acceptable to others. In capitalist society, people believe they are fighting for limited economic resources, power, and glory. This type of society is based on mutual antagonism (Mangabeira-Unger, 1975). In a society of this kind, asking the other person about his needs can be perceived as weakness, since the other is perceived as a competitor.

Family dynamics also influences how young Puerto Ricans in this study reacted to the work experience. For these young people, work did not represent increased autonomy from home. Puerto Ricans tend to stay in their parent's house until they themselves marry. This is in marked contrast to what North American youngsters experience, since they often move away from home after they begin working. Since the Puerto Rican youn men did not need to provide for wife or children, they were

not willing to tolerate what they perceived as mistreatment in the factories.

The young adults' work experiences was also was also complicated by intergenerational conflict. Sluzki (1979) discussed some intergenerational conflicts associated with migration:

> What has been delayed by the first generation (through the process of interface with the society of adoption) will take the form of an intergenerational conflict of values (p. 387).

In this study, the first generation was perceived by their children as people who were submissive and accepted every insult and injustice in silence. (This attitude has been described by the term "aplatanao".) In contrast, the second generation tends to be more assertive and demanding about what they perceive as their rights.

One additional mesosystem also contributed to the families' anxiety about the work experience of the youngsters. The school system legitimized inequality. According to Bowles and Gintis (1977):

> The educational system legitimates economic inequality by providing an open, objective, and ostensibly meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. The educational system fosters and reinforces the belief that economic success depends essentially on the possession of technical and cognitive skills -- skills which it is organized to provide in an efficient, equitable, and unbiased manner on the basis of meritocratic principle (p. 103).

The family-school mesosystem created many difficultues for the young people observed in this study. They started failing school as a product of low expectations, both of their parents and teachers. When they started failing at school, the family-school mesosystem exacerbated the problem and sometimes this resulted in the youngster

leaving school. These experiences of failure set up a pattern in which personal failure is seen as the cause of problems such as poverty. For example, why should a young person make an effort at work if he or she has already received messages both at school and at home that he or she is going to fail. This study's examination of the interactions within the family microsystem revealed how these messages were sent in the family. A pattern of double messages was observed. The parents encouraged their sons to fulfill the ideal of man of capability. However, at the same time, they sent an implicit message that these attempts would fail. The parents' frustrations with their own attempts to get ahead served a negative role function. Thus, for Puerto Ricans, macro-, micro-, exo-, and mesosystems all seem to function to reduce chances of success in the developmental task of introducing the young person into the work world.

The Family's Emotional Life

Different systems produced both stressful and supportive experiences. In the families studied, stressful experiences with the systems external to the family usually produced negative emotional carry-over into the family; supportive experiences generated patterns of positive emotional carry-over.

At the macrosystemic level, at least five stressors were identified. These macrosystemic patterns were the matrix of diminishing economic opportunities, the cryptic nature of unemployment in capitalist society, the matrix of a society oriented toward consumption, the

matrix of a minority status-racism, and the discontinuities between old ways and new ways in the migrant experience in the society of adoption. The macrosystemic reality of diminishing economic opportunities is the context for the problems migrant men found in fulfilling the culturally prescribed role of family provider -- a cultural pattern of the society of origin. The reality of diminishing opportunities is also the context for problems which young people and their families faced in relation to compliance with the culturally prescribed role of men of capability. Again, the role of men of capability represents a pattern of continuity from the society of origin.

The macrosystemic patterns responsible for the generalized cryptic nature of patterns of employment-unemployment in capitalist society is the context for further patterns of "blaming the victim." At the mesosystem family-welfare, parents are blamed for their situation of poverty; at the family-school mesosystem, the Puerto Ricans are considered culturally deprived and victims of a culture of poverty; at the neighborhood level, they are often perceived as irresponsible; and at the family and personal level, they are considered inadequate. Because the systemic causes of unemployment are not readily understandable to the participants in these interactions, in a context of a macrosystemic ideology that is individualistic, the logical pattern is to blame the victim.

Another macrosystemic pattern that created stress for the families in the study is the consumer-oriented attitude in this society. Two

related patterns were identified. One pattern was at the level of the microsystem: the children had difficulties understanding that their parent's ability to meet their consumer demands were limited. The second pattern was related to the mesosystem of the nuclear-extended family. A conflict was seen between nuclear and extended families when the nuclear family became upwardly mobile. The nuclear family experienced a pull between two sets of demands. On one hand, the extended family members demanded that the nuclear family comply with the culturally prescribed rule of solidarity between family members. On the other hand, the upwardly mobile family had to deal with increased demands of consumption.

As described in earlier chapters, the context of minority status-racism was a macrosystemic dynamic which operated through different meso- and exosystems to create stress.

Another stressful macrosystemic dynamic was the conflict between old and new ways. Problems resulted when the cultural values of the original society were transplanted into the society of adoption. An example of this is the issue of respect that arose within the context of working with Americans.

Stresses were also associated with the family-work, nuclear family-extended family, family-church, family-gangs, family-welfare meso-systems:

1. In the family-work mesosystem, anxiety was produced by the difference in timing between Puerto Rican and North American cultures in the introduction of a new member to work.

2. In the nuclear family-extended family mesosystem, members with special positions in the family often had special demands placed on them. Those members identified as competent persons and their families were subject to substantial stress. The demands were made in the context of two important macrosystems: the rule of solidarity with the extended family and the reality of diminishing economic opportunities with resulting poverty. These had combined effects on the quality of urban environment. The quality of services in the urban environment was a constant source of crisis (apartments infested with cockroaches, insufficient heat, delapidated conditions of houses, absentee landlords, broken boilers). These produced a state of constant crisis in the everyday life of the migrants of the study. Such crises placed demands and provided opportunities for family members and neighbors to help one another. For example, Don Ramon, who had no extended family in Springfield, took responsibility for handling crises in his apartment building. And although he complained about this heavy responsibility, he also took considerable pride in it.

3. In the mesosystem church-family, the attempt of some churches to distinguish between converted members and non-members was a source of painful stress for some families.

4. The family-gang mesosystem was a further source of family stress. Two levels of stress were identified. The first was associated with the gang's criminal and violent acts in the neighborhood. The second was associated with gang activity as a context that hindered the introduction of the young to the labor market and

their introduction to society.

5. In the family-welfare mesosystem, the discouraging practices and the treatment of the Puerto Rican clients by the welfare workers was seen by these clients as an attack on personal honor and as lack of respect.

Migrant families were not only exposed to stressors and negative emotional carry-over from larger systems. They also received support from several sources; for example, the support system of extended family, friends, and churches. Another source of positive emotional carry-over was the identity validation men received through interactions of respeto-relajo among men in the neighborhood.

Human beings and families are not closed systems. They are affected by interactional regularities and cultural behaviors. Their interpretations of these events, in turn, affect their reactions to their environment. Through the adjudication of meaning, stressful situations can be converted into a source of support. Attempts to deal with some of these stressors allowed some members of the community to bolster their self-respect. For example, Don Ramon was able to reinforce his feelings of being a "complete man" a "man of respect" and "capability" by his actions in relation to both the stressors of gang activity and the deteriorating neighborhood. He confronted the gangs and private and public agencies responsible for the deterioration of the urban infrastructure of the neighborhood.

The amount and continuous flux of stressors experienced by these Puerto Rican families does not necessarily reflect their ability to

deal with their environment. Although the families in this community were subject to intense divisive stress, a significant proportion managed to deal with this stress in an efficient manner. They maintained a united family, preserved their mental health, and played a useful role in the neighborhood.

Representativeness of the Data

Some of the identified patterns and conclusions discussed in this study are applicable to all Puerto Rican migrants in Springfield -- for example, the macrosystemic pattern of diminishing economic opportunities, the cryptic nature of employment-unemployment patterns, society's emphasis on individualism, and the racist stereotypes of Puerto Ricans. All Puerto Ricans in the United States have to resolve the issues related to these macrosystemic patterns.

Further Research Questions

This study focused primarily on men's roles and their ongoing activities in the community. The women's sphere was not accessible to the researcher. This sphere could be studied using techniques similar to those used in the present study. Clinicians who work with Puerto Ricans generally believe that women have fewer problems than men. If this belief is supported by research, then it is also important to determine the underlying mechanisms. Perhaps the female household sphere provides a setting in which the mother can still supervise her daughter's development toward the ideal of a woman of capability.

Research is also needed on the family-North American mesosystem. In many Puerto Rican families, a mixture of skin and hair colors is found among family members. This results from the racial diversity of Puerto Rican society and the inter-marriages between Puerto Ricans and other ethnic groups in the United States. Research should examine how the racism macrosystem affects interactions of the racially-mixed families.

Researchers should also examine the nature of family interactional patterns in situations where the parents still supervise their children's introduction to work (i.e., small merchants, restaurant owners).

A more difficult task, but an important one, would be to compare the integration of two similar groups of migrants in two different macro-contexts. The first in a context of diminishing economic opportunities and the second in the context of increasing economic opportunities. Perhaps the family hierarchy, life cycle, and emotional life would be affected differently in these two situations.

Some of the patterns found in this study also apply to other migrant groups which have similar socio-historical backgrounds. Part of the Springfield Puerto Rican community was composed of Puerto Ricans whose families had been in the United States for three generations. Some of these nuclear families came not from Puerto Rico, but from New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania. Further research could be conducted to determine to what extent the patterns identified in this study apply to these other groups.

Implications for Mental Health Issues

The patterns identified in this study have implications for types of mental health interventions. At the community psychology level, the following actions are needed: first, the media industry must be made aware of their involvement in the media-North American exosystem. The media industry should be encouraged to present a more balanced view of this population; second, the welfare system's regulations need to be rewritten so that families living below the poverty line can receive aid without the dissolution of the family. Meetings with community members should be held so that migrants can distinguish racism from problems of mutual recognition.

It is important for bilingual-bicultural workers in social service positions to maintain contact with their origins. They need to avoid developing a dislike of the behaviors which are typical of their ethnic group, but incongruent with those of the dominant society.

The theme of dehierarchization that develops, particularly for men migrating from Puerto Rico to the United States, needs to be given major recognition. Migration involves a shift from majority to minority status, a shift in racial definition by the majority culture, a shift in the possibility of demonstrating the role of family provider, and diminished opportunity for validating one's identity with peers. In addition, as noted above, institutional practices, such as the welfare system, denigrate the position and value of the male in the family. The dehierarchization of men in almost all spheres of their lives must be

recognized as a major source of mental health problems, including alcoholism and family abuse.

Therapists need to consider the specific effects that the larger systems discussed above have on the family life developmental cycle. Therapy may also need to address an individual's sense of self-blame. For all problems, the responsibilities of both society and the individual should be considered. The therapist should be careful to avoid reinforcing the pattern identified in this study and by other researchers (Ryan, 1977) of "blaming the victim." Therapy can also help to resolve some intergenerational conflicts by helping the parents to take a more assertive role in their interactions with larger systems. These actions can be both on an individual and collective level and may decrease the rebelliousness and violence of the second generation.

Epilogue

Perhaps one of the most important conclusions to emerge from the study is the need to develop another way of thinking about the Puerto Rican population. The usual way of thinking adjudicates individual responsibility for situations which are produced in the interconnectedness of several larger systems and the family.

Another important conclusion to emerge from the study is the need to increase the level of intervention. Some of the problems discussed in the study are not resolvable through interventions in the family. In order to change economic and political realities, solidarity among

families, groups and institutions is needed. In this context, the study of how a political consensus can be achieved is especially important. Such a study must recognize and deal with problems of racism and prejudice as deterents to the formation of political consensus.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW FACE SHEET

1. Code number _____ 2. Dates of interview:
   a) _____
   b) _____
   c) _____
   d) _____
   e) _____

3. Sex ___ 4. Age ___ 5. D.O.B. _____

6. Place of birth: (Include town, neighborhood, in a home, in a hospital, which one). _____

7. Setting of interview: _____

8. Education (Maximum level attained): _____

9. Ethnic identification: _____

10. Race (in terms of genotype): _____

    (i.e., black, brown, white; provide the classification verbatim and the commentaries of the subject)

11. Place of residence (name and description:

12. Occupation or other position: (If possible, without alientating subject, inquire about income and sources of it).

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

12. (continued)

13. Religion: _____

14. Class auto-perception:

a) upper, middle, lower, etc. _____

b) working class, industrial, professional, student, own small business, farm worker, etc.

15. Marital status: _____

Part 1. CODE NUMBER _____ DATE ____ PLACE OF INTERVIEW _____

BETWEEN FAMILIES: THE UNATTACHED YOUNG ADULT.

(Differentiation of self in relation to family of origin)

1. Tell me how your life was at 13 years of age. Where did you live? What were your activities? Describe to me a typical day (when did the family wake up?; what all of you did at 7 a.m., 8 a.m., 9 a.m., etc...Try to imagine that you are doing a film of your life at this age, describe it to me.

   PROBE: Rules of the household

   Your most difficult moment at that age

   Your happiest moment at that age.

2. Tell me how your life was from 14 to 20 years of age. What were you permitted at 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 that was not permitted of you when you were younger?

   PROBE: How was your life changing as you were growing, how the rules of the household were changing for you.

   What did you, your younger and your older brothers and sisters do for fun?

   What were you allowed to do that your younger brothers and sisters were not allowed? Your older brothers and sisters?

3. Tell me, at the age from 14 to 20:

   Which were the six most difficult moments or situations. Where did they happen?

   The happiest ones. (Try to remember them as if you were doing a film in your mind of them.)

4. Tell me, at the age from 14 to 20:

   Which were the six most difficult moments or situations for your family. Where did they happen? What did you think was happening?

Which were the six most happiest moments or situations for your family. Where did they happen? What did you think was happening?

5. Tell me, how did you know that you were not a child any more?

   PROBE: What were you allowed to do as a young man that was not allowed of a child? How was that different for you, for your brothers and sisters, for your best friends?

6. Do you remember what sort of things were the typical arguments between young people and their parents when you were growing up?

7. After finishing these six questions, ask the subject how each one of the research questions are the same for children growing up here in the United States and in what ways they are different (i.e., Do you think that the life for children at age 13, regarding the rules of the household, in the United States are the same or different. How are they the same and how are they different? Can you give me concrete examples of these things with children that you know?

   Then, you repeat this procedure with all the questions where information was obtained that could be compared, or that it makes sense to do.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTIMATE PEER RELATIONSHIPS:

1. How do people in your neighborhood become engaged (hacerse novios)? Describe your first engagement (noviazgo). At what age?

   PROBE: How did you declare your love?

   What sort of things did your father and mother tell you about relationships with women (men)?

   What were the rules for the man and the woman concerning "hacerse novios"?

   In what specific activities did young men and women have an opportunity to meet? What were the rules concerning these meetings?

2. How are people in your neighborhood here in the United States (the young people of this time) now getting engaged? How is this different? Give me specific examples of people that you know.

PROBE: The same questions as for #1, but demanding specific examples to substantiate the argument. These examples should be of people that the subject knows in the community.

3. Were your father and mother in agreement with your falling in love?*

4. How many young people do you know of in Springfield whose mother and father are in agreement about them falling in love? At what age? How many in disagreement? At what age?

   PROBE: How was the conflict resolved?

5. How many novias (novios) did you have when you were a young man (woman)?*

   PROBE: Difference here in Springfield with specific examples.

6. Where did you meet your husband (wife)?*

7. When did you marry?*

8. It is said that a young man gains prestige by having many novias, while a young girl who has more than one novio gets a bad reputation.* How was this for you in Puerto Rico when you were young? Do you think that it was true? Please give me examples of your brothers and friends.

   PROBE: How has this situation changed or not changed here in Springfield. How do you know that it is the same or different? Give me specific examples of people that you know.

*These questions are taken from the questionnaire used by Seda-Bonilla, 1958.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SELF AT WORK:

1. What was your first job? Where?

   PROBE: What was the first job of your brothers and sisters? Where?

   What was the first job for your mother and father? Where?

2. Were you treated differently after you got your first job? In what ways?

   PROBE: Special privilages.
   Special obligations (i.e., contributing to the family).

3. Do you remember how you got your first job?

4. What kind of work did you like best then?*

5. When you were 15-20 years old, did you have any special vocation in mind?*

6. Please go through the family genogram and ask for each one of the siblings the following:

   What was their first job?
   How they got it?
   How much they were paid?
   And if they had special treatment and/or obligations after they got their first job.

7. When you got your first job, in what job was your father? Your mother? Your brothers? Your sisters?

8. Please go now and fill form #1 for the subject and for the subject's wife and children.

9. The following question is a sensitive one, it is recommended that the interviewer explore it with much care. After you fill the JOB HISTORY TABLE (form #1), see if there are differences in the type of work and the amount of money received by any member of the family. Then explore whether or not this was a problem. A very useful technique is to ask in a way that seems as though you were talking about another family. (Also, a good suggestion is to reserve this question for the last in the interview.) After you use this first technique, ask permission of the interviewee to ask a personal question and then proceed to ask questions in this way:

   i.e., Mr. _____ in the year 1950 you were working in _____ and making _____ and your wife was working in _____ and she was making _____. Did you have any problems then? How did it work out? Also, ask about older brothers making less than younger brothers.

*These questions are taken from the questionnaire used by Seda-Bonilla, 1958.

JOB HISTORY TABLE

IDENTIFICATION BY PLACE IN THE FAMILY SYSTEM: _____

SEX _____ AGE _____

AGE	TYPE OF WORK	PLACE OF WORK	SALARY

GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT BEING YOUNG:

1. What is a model young man (woman)? How many model young men and women did you know in your neighborhood when you were growing up? Why were they model young men and women (joven modelo)?

2. How many "jovenes modelos" do you know in Springfield? Whey are they jovenes modelos?

3. Where do you think that it is more easy to be a "joven modelo", in Puerto Rico or in Springfield?

   PROBE: Specific reasons.
   Instances and stories to substantiate these reasons.

4. When you were young, what were the requirements for young people to be able to marry?

   PROBE: Specific stories where he/she heard people talking about these requirements.

   How many couples he/she knew back then that met all these requirements.

   For people in Springfield that meet these requirements. How many he/she knows that do and do not meet these requirements. Specific examples.

5. In what things are young people today in Springfield different from when you were growing up in Puerto Rico? In what ways are they the same? Give specific examples.

6. Sometimes young people say that certain ideas or values are antiquated (eso ya no se usa, eso esta anticuado, eso es cosa de jibaro). Did you hear something like this? Within what specific issue? Give concrete examples with people that you know.

   PROBE: Where did these young people learn these new ideas?

   Did they sometimes use the authority of a teacher to fortify their argument?

7. Talking now about your children, how do you handle adolescence differently from your parents? Give specific examples.

   PROBE: Specific problems with the adolescents in the family, with what issues, for ways of resolution, etc.

APPENDIX B

PERIODICO: FECHA: EDICION:

Titulo de la noticia, como aparece en el periodico:

Seccion del periodico: paginas: autor o autores, y descripcion del mismo:

Resumen: Lees el articulo y brevemente dices de que se trata, por ejemplo: este articulo es una carta al editor donde una persona da su opinion de porque no tiene simpatias para los hispanos y menciona una serie de argumentos que en definitive colocan la culpa de la situacion de los hispanos en ellos mismos.	RESUMEN:
CATEGORIAS DE MATERIA: se clasifican los temas tratados: a) violencia b) criminalidad c) delincuencia d) supersticion e) eventos sociales f) eventos religiosos g) eventos politicos h) eventos comunales i) eventos de institu-ciones formales, i.e. centros de comunidad, centros de salud mental, programas especiales, etc... j) fuegos k) caracteristicas fisicas del vecindario hispano l) tu puedes inventar una categoria	CATEGORIAS DE MATERIAS:

INTENSIDAD: LAS VECES QUE SE REPITEN LOS TERMINOS O EXPRESIONES EMOCIONALES QUE SE UTILIZAN. En esta parte debes citar textualmente todas las expresiones emocionales que aparecen en el texto; por ejemplo: "feeling as I do about the public image that the North and Hispanics have managed to convey," "I am annoyed and fed up," "I do not feel this people have the right to demand."

INTENSIDAD:

.....

CATEGORIAS DE APRECIACION:
Segun las apreciaciones que hace el autor del documento puede hacerse la siguiente clasificacion de categorias:

a) toma de posicion aprobacion
b) toma de posicion condena
c) toma de posicion pesimismo
d) toma de posicion optimismo
e) toma de posicion otras

a) valores bien--mal
b) valores justo-injusto
c) valores bello--feo
d) valores feliz-infeliz
e) valores fuerte-debil
f) valores util-inutil
g) valores sano-enfermo
h) valores otros

.....

ORIGEN DE LA NOTICIA:
en esta parte debes poner la agencia noticiosa que la publica y la afiliacion de la persona que la publica.
por ejemplo: Union Staff, Associated press, special to New York times, etc.

.....

Tus comentarios personales

APPENDIX C

Description of Identified Urban Structures

1. This is a brick apartment building with four floors. The building is in good condition. On the first floor is a store called "Christopher Discount Center."

2. A second building which is similar to building #1.

3. This building is in poor condition and has broken windows.

4. This structure is a small ice cream store which is surrounded by a big parking lot and has a big tree in front. The store's walls are covered by grafitti.

5. This is a closed gasoline station, with a poster that says, "No loitering, police take notice".

6. This is a small store which is closed.

7. This is a supermarket. The building is in good condition and has several specials described in the window.

8. This is a burned-out four-story building.

9. This is a small seafood store which had a fire.

10. This is a burned-out story building. There is a lot of broken glass all around. The building is covered with grafitti (i.e., samurai the more, latin brother).

11. A four-story apartment building which has storm windows and is in good condition.

12. An apartment building which is similar to #11.

13. An apartment building which is similar to #11.

14. This is an uninhabited two-story house in very poor condition. The windows are broken and all the window glass is in front of the house.

15. This is a two-story house in very good condition, it has a cyclone fence all around.

16. This is a two-story house which is in very good condition. It has storm windows, a two-car garage, and two balconies.

17. This is a two-story house. It has storm windows, a new roof and a porch with four white columns. The house is in very good condition.

18. This is a three-story house. It has storm windows. The first floor porch has 10 white columns; a second floor porch, and two garages. The house is in very good condition.

19. This is a two-story house in good condition. It has three mail boxes, a back yard, and a hedge made of pine trees.

20. This is a two-story house with a cyclone fence and a sign saying "Beware of the Dog." It is in good condition.

21. This is a two-story house in relatively good condition. The painting is old but the structure is sound. It has a cyclone fence.

22. This is a four-story building which is in very bad condition. It has six windows broken. Several apartments are closed. It has grafitti all over. This building is a gang meeting place. Several youngsters smoke marijuana on the stairs. It also has a poster in the front that says, "Housing rehabilitation by and for the community Melrose End Development Corporation."

23. This is a three-story house in good condition.

24. This is a two-story house with grass in the front. It is very clean and in good condition.

25. This is a two-story house with a cyclone fence and garden. The house is in good condition.

26. This is a two-story house in good condition. It has grass in the front yard and a garage.

27, 28, and 30. These are houses which are similar to House #26.

29. This is an empty lot surrounded by a cyclone fence. This is a community garden. Different people in the neighborhood have a vegetable plot.

31. This is a small store which sells religious objects and plants used for spiritualism. This type of store is called "botanicas."

32. This is a store which sells food including Puerto Rican products. This is a family operated business and extends credit to neighbors.

33, and 34. These are two new three-story buildings being constructed by the "Melrose End Development Corporation."